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The "Candragarbha-sūtra" in central and east Asia: Studies in a Buddhist prophecy of decline

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THE *CANDRAGARBHA-SŪTRA* IN

CENTRAL AND EAST ASIA

STUDIES IN A BUDDHIST PROPHECY OF DECLINE

A thesis presented

by

Jan Nattier

to

The Committee on Inner Asian and Altaic Studies

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ABSTRACT

THE *CANDRAGARBHA-SŪTRA* IN CENTRAL AND EAST ASIA: STUDIES IN A BUDDHIST PROPHECY OF DECLINE

Jan Nattier

This thesis contains an analysis of the major decline prophecies found in Buddhist literature, with special attention to the "Destruction of the Dharma" chapter of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* which survives in Chinese, Khotanese, Tibetan and Mongolian translations. Chapter 1 reviews the variety of timetables given in Buddhist sources for the duration of the Dharma, examines the origins of the East Asian concept of *mo-fa / mappō* ("End-Dharma"), and offers a detailed analysis of the fourteen extant versions of the prophecy of the final destruction of the Dharma at Kauśāmbī, preserved in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* and other texts. A stemma illustrates the relationships among these recensions, and allows us to determine with reasonable accuracy the form of the original story, its sectarian provenance, and the time and place of its composition. A brief survey is then provided of three other influential decline traditions found in Buddhist sources: the Hindu four-*yuga* system, the scholastic decline theory of the *Abhidharmakośa*, and the anti-Muslim apocalypse contained in the *Kālacakra-tantra*. Chapter 1 concludes by contrasting the current role of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in Tibet, where it has been largely forgotten, with that in East Asia, where it remains a highly influential text. An attempt is made to explain these divergent outcomes, with special reference to the effect of the presence or absence of the concept of *mo-fa* on the appropriation of other decline traditions.

Chapter 2 contains a critical edition of the Tibetan version of the *Candragarbha* decline prophecy, an annotated English translation, and an introduction discussing the relationship among the seven texts consulted (including the Tun-huang manuscript).

Chapter 3 contains the romanized Mongolian text, an annotated English translation, an index of Mongolian vocabulary (with Tibetan equivalents), and an introduction detailing the relationship between the Mongolian and Tibetan versions.

Appendices contain a synoptic list of proper names found in extant versions of the Kauśāmbī prophecy, a complete list of the references to the "latter age" found in the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the *Lotus Sūtra*, a list of all known timetables for the duration of the Dharma, and a discussion of the Mongolian *ali ḳali* alphabet, including a complete chart of these letters and description of their use.

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Acknowledgements

The number of those who have contributed to the completion of this project surely exceeds that of the proverbial sands of the Ganges. Friends, colleagues and cohorts far and near have offered comments, encouragement, and advice without which this study (if it were completed at all) would surely be much poorer. My sense of the impossibility of adequately acknowledging their help is exceeded only by the pleasure of remembering their contributions.

I must begin with my first teachers in the Central Asian field, at Indiana University in Bloomington. Gombojab Hangin and John Krueger, who introduced me to the study of Mongolian; Helmut Hoffmann, who awakened my interest in Classical Tibetan and in materials from Tun-huang in particular; and Larry Clark, who introduced me to the fascinating and perplexing religious literature of Old Uighur, combined forces to set me on a path from which there has been no turning back. Together they aroused an unquenchable curiosity about things Central Asian, and managed to communicate their sense that working with these materials can be as rewarding as it sometimes is baffling.

At Harvard it has been a great privilege for me to study the Mongolian language with Francis Cleaves, whose erudition and high standards of scholarship are exceeded only by the warmth of his concern for his many students. As thesis advisor for the Mongolian portion of this project he has read and scrutinized every line of the text, and has offered innumerable suggestions, corrections, and valuable comments. Richard Frye has been responsible for introducing me to the Iranian language family, and for providing many valuable insights into the important (and still so little known) role of "greater Iran" in the expansion of Buddhism across Central Asia. He has answered my many questions on things Sogdian, Bactrian and Khotanese with energy and enthusiasm, and has saved me from many an error on the Iranian front. John McRae has served as a fount of information on Chinese Buddhist topics, and has patiently answered my seemingly endless questions. My summaries of the content of the Chinese versions of the Kauśāmbī story could not have been done without his generosity in reading through these texts with me. Finally, Masatoshi Nagatomi has been my academic advisor and friend throughout my long and sometimes trying years at Harvard, and has been an unfailing source of information, encouragement, and good advice. That his vast knowledge of the history of Buddhism serves to inspire his students rather than to intimidate them is a testimony to his great humanity.

In addition to these four members of my thesis committee, many other friends and colleagues have actively assisted with this project. Judy Boltz tracked down several

passages in the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* which would have taken me eons to locate on my own, and offered valuable comments on the degree of conformity between the Chinese translation and the single surviving Sanskrit fragment of the text. Gary Tubb offered further assistance from the Sanskrit side (and let me use his Macintosh, when U.P.S. managed to misplace mine – along with five boxes of my thesis materials – during a heart-stopping two-week period). Michael Witzel provided timely information and bibliography on current work in Prakrit studies, and Richard Salomon offered helpful comments on some of my more out-on-a-limb theories related to the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script. Bill Boltz offered cautionary advice on the pronunciation of Chinese loan words in Tibetan, Şinasi Tekin supplied valuable references on Uighur vocabulary in Mongolian, and Chris Beckwith opened the door to the methodology of Greek and Latin textual criticism while serving as a tough but friendly critic on all things Tibetan. Conversations with Raoul Birnbaum on the terminology of decline theory in China helped me to clarify my ideas on the subject, and his comments – together with those of Kevin Reinhart – on a semi-final draft of the introduction were gratefully incorporated. A special note of thanks is also due to Lee Barbaro, whose warm companionship (and relentless lack of interest in anything philological) helped to keep this project, during its early stages, in proper perspective.

Others have contributed to the sheer survival of this writer in ways that only those who have lived through the final months of thesis-writing can appreciate. Long-distance encouragement (and reminders that not *everyone* believes the Dharma is declining) came from Alan Sponberg, Jean Pietarinen, and John McRae, while in Minnesota my department chairman at Macalester College, Calvin Roetzel, managed to create an atmosphere in which a junior visiting lecturer could manage to teach four new courses, write large chunks of a thesis, and maintain some degree of sanity all in the same year. Without his sympathetic encouragement and unfailing sense of humor I am sure I would have expired, or given up, or both. Juanita Garciagodoy provided friendship, good food, and great poetry, and some much-needed moving assistance at the eleventh hour. Back in Cambridge friends and former co-workers at M.I.T. provided ongoing encouragement, the much-appreciated use of a laser printer, and that refreshing change of perspective that comes from trying to explain one's research on Buddhist decline theory to an audience of genuinely interested geophysicists. On the grueling home stretch Mary McGee and Gary Tubb provided consolation in the darkest hours; Irit Averbuch offered moral support, library assistance, and food; and Kevin Reinhart provided a willing ear, some well-timed distraction, and good advice on knowing when to stop.

Finally, an unrepayable debt of gratitude is owed to my parents, Clayton and Jean Nattier, who would probably rather I had studied something else, but have always let me know they're on my side.

for John

who helped (and hindered) more than anyone

Preface

This thesis consists of three distinct parts, which may well be of interest to three separate audiences. The heart of the thesis, the edition and translation of the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the sutra named in the title, is addressed above all to philologists specializing in Tibetan and Mongolian, respectively. In translating the texts into English I have opted for linguistic precision rather than literary quality wherever the two seemed to be in conflict. In annotating the translations, I have likewise been concerned above all with documenting philological and grammatical issues. As the specialist in either of these fields is already aware, we are still far from having a complete lexicon, or even a fully adequate grammar, of classical (much less pre-classical) Tibetan or Mongolian. A considerable amount of attention has therefore been devoted to lexical items not registered in standard dictionaries, grammatical features that do not correspond to what existing textbooks would lead us to expect, and (in the case of loan words from other languages, rare in Tibetan but extremely common in Mongolian) the origins of foreign terminology. I have dealt only in passing with content-related issues in the notes to the translations, reserving these matters for the Introduction. I have, however, made an effort to supply brief definitions of Buddhist terms that are not adequately defined in existing Tibetan and Mongolian dictionaries, and to offer suggestions on where further information on these topics can be found.

If the texts, translations and annotations have been treated as a primarily philological enterprise, the Introduction deals with those broader historical and conceptual issues that may be of greater interest to scholars of Buddhism and of the history of religions in general. Here I have attempted

to place the content of the text – a prophecy of the decline and eventual disappearance of Buddhism – in context, and to deal with such issues as the circumstances that gave rise to such a mythology, the uses to which it was put by Buddhists in later centuries, and some of the striking divergences between the Indian and Tibetan understandings of the myth, on the one hand, and its East Asian interpretations on the other.

Many issues have been left unexplored, and must be reserved for future studies. I have not dealt with the development of the concept of the "reflection of the true Dharma" (Skt. *saddharma-pratirūpaka*) in as much detail as the subject warrants, nor have I delved into the evolution of the idea of *mo-fa* ("end-Dharma") in China and Japan after its initial introduction in the 6th century (an enterprise already well underway in Japanese scholarship, and better left to those whose Sinological and Japanological training exceeds my own). I have only touched on the interactions between Hindu and Buddhist theories of history, and have simply noted (and not explored in detail) the impact of the confrontation with Islam on Buddhist eschatological thought. If much still remains to be done before we will have a fully adequate understanding of Buddhist concepts of history, it is my hope that this study has at least made available some additional data relevant to this issue, and perhaps opened a few new topics to debate.

Transliteration Conventions

Tibetan. For the Tibetan text I have employed the system proposed by T. V. Wylie (*HJAS*, 22 [1959], pp. 261-267), with the following emendations: (1) the *'a-chung* (འ་) is transcribed by an apostrophe wherever it appears (even at the end of a word, where Wylie does not transcribe it at all); (2) the reversed letter *i* (ྀ), so common in Old Tibetan texts, has been indicated by underlining wherever it occurs; and (3) wherever a letter could be misconstrued in Wylie's transcription as an abbreviated subscript or as part of another letter, I have inserted a period before the doubtful letter to indicate that it is written separately (i.e., as an independent letter) in the Tibetan script. In this procedure I have followed Wylie's method of distinguishing between the subscript and full forms of the letter *y* in the combinations *gy-* གྱ- and *g-y-* གཡ-, replacing his hyphen by a period (since the hyphen is used for other purposes in Tibetan transcription) and extending it to include other ambiguous letters (most commonly the letter *h*) as well. In most cases these ambiguities appear in the Tibetan transcriptions of foreign (especially Sanskrit) words, but occasionally they arise in native Tibetan terms as well. The following examples should illustrate the method used:

gyag	*g.yag*	*sho*	*s.ho*	*shu*	*sh.hu*[1]	**gslo*	*gs.lo*[2]
གྱག་	གཡག་	ཤོ་	སྷོ་	ཤུ་	ཤྷུ་	* གསློ་	གསལོ་

Mongolian. For the Mongolian text I have used the system of F. W. Cleaves and A. Mostaert, as used in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*

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1 See the transcription of the Tibetan text, line 173 (Tun-huang version).

2 Tibetan text, line 21 (Tun-huang version).

Since the special problems presented by the so-called *galig* letters and their transcription have been dealt with in Appendix 4, "The Mongolian *Ali Kali* Alphabet," the reader is referred to that section for further details.

Chinese. Following the lead of virtually all scholars in Buddhist Studies (and the logic of David Pollack, who states in the introduction to his recent book that he will adopt the *pin-yin* system "the day I find the layman who can pronounce the name of Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in ... more accurately in its Pinyin rendering of Cao Xueqin"[3]), I have retained the traditional Wade-Giles system for the transcription of Chinese. In addition I have made frequent use of Karlgren's reconstructions of the Ancient Chinese pronunciations (6th c. C.E.) for characters used to transcribe proper names. In all such instances I have provided the number of the entry in Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*.

Other languages. For the romanization of other languages I have followed standard conventions, as exemplified in the following sources:

Sanskrit:	Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*
Pāli:	Pali Text Society, *Pali-English Dictionary*
Uighur:	von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*
Sogdian:	Benveniste, *Vessantara Jātaka*
Khotanese:	Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*
Tokharian:	Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*
Japanese:	Nelson, *Japanese-English Dictionary*

[3] David Pollack, *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. xiv.

Symbols and Conventions Used in the Texts and Translations

Tibetan and Mongolian texts

< >	letters or words found in the original manuscript or xylograph, but which are erroneous and should be removed
italic	letters that are barely legible, but of fairly certain reading
⌊ ⌋	indicates material inserted below the line (Tibetan text only)
[]	letters omitted from (or invisible in) the manuscript or xylograph, but which should be supplied
...	letters that are totally illegible

English translations

[]	words not found in the original Tibetan or Mongolian text, but which are necessary to convey the sense in English
( )	equivalents of a proper name or Buddhist technical term in another language (ordinarily Sanskrit)
{ }	words found in some but not all copies of the text (Tibetan only)

Annotations

~	alternates with
‖	is parallel to
<	is derived from
<<	is ultimately derived from (at a considerable remove)
→	becomes

Abbreviations*

Apte	V. Sh. Apte, *The Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary*
AOH	*Acta Orientalia* (Budapest)
ATG	A. M. von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik* (3rd ed.)
BHSD	F. W. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*
Das	S. C. Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*
DO	A. Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*
DTS	Nadelyaev et al., eds., *Drevnetyurkskiĭ slovar'*
EDT	G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-13th Century Turkic*
EMD	J. Hangin, *A Concise English-Mongolian Dictionary*
ER	M. Eliade, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*
ERE	J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*
HAI	Richard N. Frye, *A History of Ancient Iran*
HBI	E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*
JA	*Journal asiatique*
Jä.	H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*
JSFOu	*Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*
JTS	*Journal of Turkish Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
K.	B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*
Khot.	Khotanese
Kow.	J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*

* For full references to published works (other than periodicals) see the Bibliography.

Less.	F. W. Lessing et al., *Mongolian-English Dictionary*
MLMC	L Ligeti, ed., *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta*
Mo.	Mongolian
Mvy.	R. Sakaki et al., eds., *Mahāvyutpatti*
MW	M. W. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*
Pkt.	Prakrit
PTSD	Pali Text Society, *Pali-English Dictionary*
Roerich	Yu. N. Roerich, *Tibetsko-russko-angliĭskiĭ slovar'*
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
SOR	*Serie Orientale Roma*
T.	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō
Tib.	Tibetan
Tokh.	Tokharian
TS	E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*
Uig.	Uighur
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

CHAPTER 1. ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE "DECLINE OF THE DHARMA" THEORY

One of the first things the beginning student of Buddhism is taught is that the Buddhist tradition emphasizes the transitoriness of all phenomena. And with admirable consistency, Buddhist teachers down through the centuries have insisted on applying this principle even to their own religious beliefs, and have produced a number of scriptures predicting the decline and eventual disappearance of the Buddhist faith. The *Candragarbha-sūtra* is one of the best known of these works, and has influenced many of the outstanding philosophers and historians of China, Japan, and Tibet.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold: to provide a critical edition and translation of the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*; to provide an analysis of the contents of the text; and to locate this version of the prophecy of the disappearance of Buddhism within the context of Buddhist decline thinking as a whole. While the first two of these objectives may be approached in relatively straightforward fashion, the third is more complex and will require considerable preparatory efforts. For despite the high level of current interest among Buddhist scholars in the evolution of the concept of decline, and despite the rather extensive secondary literature dealing with this topic,[1] we still lack many of the basic tools

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[1] On the origins and development of the "decline of the Dharma" concept in the Buddhist tradition see Jean Przyluski, *La Légende de l'empereur Açoka* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), pp. 161-185; Yamada Ryūjō, "Mappō shisō ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, IV.2 (1956), pp. 361-370; Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958), pp. 210-22; Yamada Ryūjō, "Kōki kyōten no haikei," in his *Daijō bukkyō seiritsu ron josetsu* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1959); Kazue Kyōichi, *Nihon no mappō shisō* (Tokyo: Kōbundo, 1961), pp. 1-38; Kumoi Shōzen, "Hōmetsu shisō no genryū," in Ōchō Enichi, ed., *Hokugi Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1970), pp. 287-297; David W. Chappell, "Early Forebodings of the Death of Buddhism," *Numen*, 27 (1980), pp. 122-153; James B. Hubbard, *Salvation*

necessary for a comparative study of these traditions. Among the most obvious requisites which are not yet available are: a chronological ordering of the scriptures predicting the disappearance of Buddhism; a discussion of the relationships among the extant versions of these texts, ultimately including a stemma or "lineage chart" depicting the nature of these relationships; a complete list of the timetables for the duration of the Dharma; and a thorough discussion of the circumstances that seem to have led to the original production of these decline prophecies, subsequent emendations in their content, and their eventual reappropriation and reactivation in other environments.

Before turning to an analysis of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* itself, I will therefore begin with an overview of the Buddhist decline literature as a whole in an attempt to supply as many of the requisites listed above as possible. Having outlined the origins and development of Buddhist decline traditions in general, I will then move on to consider the unique features of the *Candra-garbha-sūtra* and to evaluate the particular significance of its message.

PERIODIZATION SCHEMES: THE TIMETABLES OF DECLINE

Forebodings of the eventual extinction of the Dharma (Skt. *saddharma-vipralopa* ~ *saddharmakṣaya*; Tib. *chos-nub* ~ *chos-'jig*; Ch. *fa-mieh* / Jap. *hōmetsu* 法滅)[2] are found even in the earliest layers of Buddhist

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in the Final Period of the Dharma: The Inexhaustible Storehouse of he San-chieh-chiao (Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1986), pp. 10-48; and Kajiyama Yuichi, *Shinran*, (Tokyo: Chūō kōron-sha, 1987), pp. 314-334.

[2] It is important to note the distinction between these terms (all of which may be translated "extinction of the Dharma, disappearance of the Dharma") and Ch. *mo-fa* / Jap. *mappō* 末法, properly "end-Dharma, final Dharma" (i.e., the final stage of the Dharma prior to its ultimate disappearance). For a detailed discussion of these terms see below, pp. 15-19.

literature. Doubtless the first distinction made by followers of the Buddha was simply between the "golden age" of their teacher's own lifetime and the less-than-ideal period following his death. Before long, however, there arose the belief that the Dharma would endure only for a fixed period of time, after which the Buddhist teachings would disappear from the face of the earth. A variety of timetables are associated with this tradition; in this section we will review the various time schemes represented in Buddhist literature, and will provide a preliminary ordering of these traditions in chronological fashion.

The earliest traditions offering specific figures for the duration of the Dharma predict that the Buddhist religion will endure for only five hundred years after the Buddha's nirvana, a statement generally intertwined with a story attributing this "shortened lifespan" of the Buddhist teachings (reduced from an original duration of 1,000 years) to the Buddha's admission of women into the monastic orders. One of the best known of these passages is found in the Pāli *Vinaya* (*Cullavagga* X, 1):[3]

> If, Ānanda, women had not retired from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, religion, Ānanda, would long endure; a thousand years would the Good Doctrine abide. But since, Ānanda, women have now retired from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, not long, Ānanda, will religion endure; but five hundred years, Ānanda, will the Good Doctrine abide.[4]

The Buddha goes on to make a number of unflattering analogies, comparing the effect on the samgha of the presence of women to that of mildew on a field

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[3] The same story occurs in the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (IV, p. 278).

[4] English translation taken from Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (1896; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 447.

of rice, or rust on the sugar-cane plant.[5]

Clearly this passage (and the numerous parallel passages that occur in texts belonging to other Buddhist schools)[6] can tell us a great deal about the status of women in at least some segments of the early Buddhist community.[7] Rather than pursue this line of inquiry, however, it is more relevant to the present study to attempt to determine the date of this tradition. Modern scholars (with the notable exception of I. B. Horner[8]) have generally been reluctant to accept the scriptural claim that these are the words of the Buddha himself, and have found it far more reasonable to assume that the idea of blaming the premature demise of Buddhism on the presence of the nuns in the *samgha* arose in misogynist circles sometime well after the Buddha's death.[9] Until now, however, no one has succeeded in marshalling any textual evidence to support this preference. Yet an examination of the scriptural sources in which this tradition does (and does not) occur provides a valuable piece of evidence: if we exclude the Mahāyāna texts (in order to focus only on the earliest sources), *all* the texts containing this story belong to schools on the Sthavira side of the Buddhist sectarian "family tree" (see Figure 1). Not a

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[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] For a complete list of the versions of this tradition identified to date see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources" (Section 1a, "500 years").

[7] For a discussion of attitudes toward women in the early Buddhist community see Alan Sponberg, "Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism," in José Ignacio Cabezón, ed., *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender* (forthcoming, 1988).

[8] I. B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1930), pp. 103-113.

[9] See for example Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha as Legend and History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), pp. 109-110, with further reference to M. E. Lulius van Goor, *De Buddhistische Non* (Leiden, 1915). A more recent treatment of the subject, focusing primarily on the Mahāyāna sources, is Diana Paul's *Women in Buddhism*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 1985).

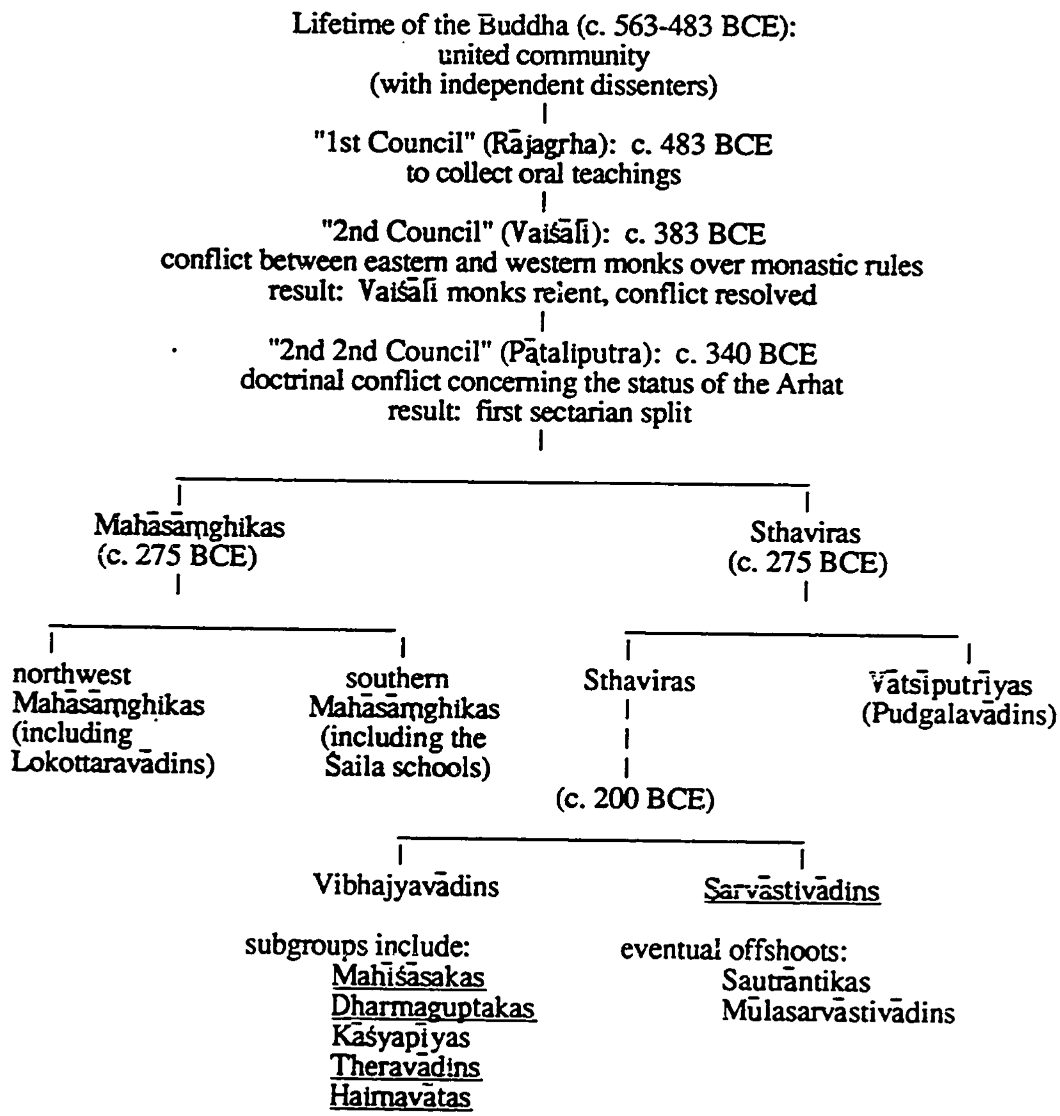


Figure 1. Simplified schematic diagram of the filiation of Buddhist sects (the so-called "Eighteen Schools"). Underlined schools are those in whose surviving literature a version of the tradition blaming the community of nuns for the shortened lifespan of the Dharma has been identified. (No literature from the undifferentiated Sthavira group has survived.) Data in this diagram is based on Edward Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India* (1962; rpt. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1970), especially pp. 119 and 195, and André Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule* (Saigon: École Française d'Extrême- Orient, 1955). For a complete list of the texts in which this tradition occurs see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," Section 1a ("500 Years"). All dates are tentative, and are based on the "long chronology" which places the Buddha's death in 483 B.C.E.

single occurrence of this tradition has been identified in the surviving literature of the Mahāsāṃghika schools.[10] This is of course to some extent an argument from silence, since only a small percentage of the literature of the Nikāya schools has come down to us. Nonetheless, the striking pattern exhibited by the surviving literature suggests that the idea of blaming the early demise of the Dharma on the nuns developed sometime *after* the initial sectarian division between the Sthavira and Mahāsāṃghika schools, but *before* any further subdivisions within the Sthavira branch (with the possible exception of the Vātsīputrīya wing[11]) had taken place. According to the best estimates of modern scholarship, this initial division took place roughly a century and a half after the death of the Buddha, while the division between the Vibhajyavādin and Sarvāstivādin branches occurred nearly a century

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[10] In addition to the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *Mahāvastu*, which refers to itself (despite its evidently non-regulatory content) as a "Vinaya text of the Lokottaravādin school" (see the English translation by J. J. Jones [London: Luzac & Co., 1949-56], vol. I, pp. xi, 3), extant Mahāsāṃghika literature includes a (genuine) Vinaya text preserved in Chinese (T. No. 1425), Sanskrit fragments of the same text discovered in Tibet in 1937 (translated in Charles S. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline* [University Park/London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975], pp. 42-112), and a portion of the sūtra section of the canon, the *Ekottarikāgama*, likewise preserved only in Chinese (T. No. 125). These are precisely the types of literature in which we *do* find the story of the nuns connected with the decline of the Dharma in the canons of other schools; thus the absence this tradition from the extant Mahāsāṃghika sources is an important indication that such a tradition was not current in these schools.

[11] To establish with certainty whether the currency of this tradition predates or post-dates the subdivision of the Sthavira school into the Sthavira and Vātsīputrīya branches (c. 275 BCE) would require an examination of the relevant literature of the Vātsīputrīya school to determine whether it did or did not contain a version of this tradition. Such literature, however – if it ever existed – has not come down to us; the only surviving texts that can be attributed with certainty to any sect belonging to this group are an Abhidharma text found in Tibet (announced for publication by G. Tucci in *SOR*, vol. 9a, but apparently never published) and two documents preserved only in Chinese: a short doctrinal text (T. No. 1649) and a brief treatise on Vinaya matters (T. No. 1641). Since these are not the sorts of texts in which we would expect to find such a tradition preserved, it is not possible to determine whether this tradition arose before or after the emergence of the Vātsīputrīya schools.

and a half later.[12] An approximate date for the emergence of this tradition, then, would be during the period 340-200 B.C.E.[13] The diversity of textual sources, both canonical and extracanonical, in which the figure of five hundred years is maintained shows that this number was long accepted – at least by the schools of the Sthavira branch – as the standard one.[14] And it is

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[12] On the dates of the first sectarian schisms see André Bareau, *Les premiers conciles bouddhiques* (Saigon: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1955); Charles S. Prebish, "A Review of Scholarship on the Buddhist Councils," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 33.2 (1974), pp. 239-254; and Charles S. Prebish and Janice J. Nattier, "Mahāsāṃghika Origins: The Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism," *History of Religions*, 16 (1977), pp. 237-272.

[13] A different date has recently been proposed by Kajiyama Yuichi, who argues that the tradition blaming the early disappearance of Buddhism on the nuns should be dated (at least in its present form) to approximately five hundred years after the Buddha's death, i.e., around the turn of the millennium (Kajiyama, *Shinran*, pp. 321-322). Kajiyama's reasoning is that the story represents an *ex post facto* prophecy, composed at the time of the events it predicts – that is, at the time of a perceived disappearance of Buddhism some five hundred years after the Buddha's death. A careful reading of the content of these prophecies, however, suggests that they are directed not toward explaining an already actualized disappearance of Buddhism, but rather toward executing the rather complicated maneuver of simultaneously justifying the existence of the community of nuns in a society which has become increasingly hostile to such an institution, and "putting the nuns in their place" by blaming them for the shortened lifespan of the Dharma. (For a detailed analysis of these issues see the article by Sponberg cited above, n. 7). Even more telling, though, are two other pieces of data: first, the evidence presented above for the existence of a common Sthavira version of this story prior to the Vibhajyavāda/Sarvāstivāda division (see Figure 1), which would require a date no later than around 200 B.C.E.; and second, the fact that there is no known instance of a Buddhist writer having composed a text suggesting that the Dharma had *already* completely disappeared. In fact, all the datable texts attempt to place this disastrous event at a time well in the future, ordinarily at least a few hundred years from the time of composition.

[14] For a list of these sources see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," Section 1a ("500 Years"). As Kajiyama has pointed out (*Shinran*, p. 321), all versions of the story save one agree that the nuns were responsible for an abbreviation of the lifespan of Buddhism from 1,000 to 500 years; the Dharmaguptaka version alone claims simply that "if women had not become nuns [lit. 'left home in the Buddha-Dharma'], the Dharma would have lasted long, [i.e.,] five hundred years" (T. 22.923c: 9-11), thus implying that the actual duration will be even shorter, though no figure for this abbreviated duration is given. According to Kajiyama the Dharmaguptaka version should be considered the oldest, since the lifespan it proposes is shorter (and therefore presumably more primitive) than that contained in the other versions. The diagram given in Figure 1 above, however, suggests that we should regard this proposal with some skepticism, and we should also consider the fact that this "abbreviated" tradition seems to have had no independent currency outside this one text. A more reasonable explanation might be that the extant Dharmaguptaka account is the result of an error in textual transmission, in which

probably an echo of this early tradition that we find in those enigmatic references, found in a number of early Mahāyāna sutras, to events which are to take place "in the latter five hundred years" of the Dharma.[15] These passages are often read in light of certain systematic periodization schemes, according to which the Buddhist tradition is expected to pass through a number of five-hundred year periods, totaling between 1,000 and 2,500 years, before the Dharma finally disappears.[16] These formalized schemes, however, represent a separate development of the tradition, and many of them date from a considerably later period. Thus in interpreting these early works we would do well to avoid reading back into the texts such a fully developed system. In fact, what is probably meant by this phrase in the early Mahāyāna literature is simply the "five hundred after-years" (or, to borrow an expression used by Sukumar Dutt in another context, "five after-

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an original version reading "if women had not become nuns, the Dharma would long endure, [for 1,000 years; but because women have become nuns, the Dharma will only endure] for 500 years" was shortened by the inadvertent omission of the material in brackets. The use of repetition and parallelism in the Indian versions of this tradition (cf. the passage from the *Cullavagga* cited above, p. 3) could easily lead to such a copying error.

15 Skt. *paścimāyāṃ pāñcaśatyāṃ*, Ch. 後五百歲. For a list of occurrences of this and related expressions in the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the *Lotus* and *Diamond* sutras see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources" (Section 1b, "Five Hundred After-Years"), and Appendix 2, " 'The Latter Age': References in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*."

16 In rendering this expression into English as "the latter half of the millennium" H. Kern (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the Good Law* [1884; rpt. New York: Dover, 1963], p. 268, n. 2) relies on a rather loose reading of the passage from the *Cullavagga* cited above (p. 3), assuming a total duration of the Dharma of 1,000 years. Edward Conze, in his translation of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Buddhist Wisdom Books* [1958; rpt. New York: Harper & Row, 1972], p. 31) assumes a 2,500-year time scheme, referring the reader to his *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951), pp. 114-116 for further details. In the latter, however, Conze does not cite his source, but refers only to "another scripture" in that laconic fashion so exasperatingly familiar to students of Tibetan commentary literature. The text in question is presumably the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. 13.363a29-b5) as summarized by Lamotte (*HBI*, pp. 214-215). Even Leon Hurvitz may be assuming such a system in rendering this expression into English as "the last five hundred years" (see his *The Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1976], pp. 300, 301, 333, 336).

centuries") – in other words, the five hundred years following the death of the Buddha.[17]

In the early years of the Buddhist community, the figure of five hundred years must have seemed reasonably generous. Around the first century C.E., however – that is, around five hundred years after the death of the Buddha – we begin to find a new version of the prophecy of decline: in the literature of the Sarvāstivāda school, in particular, the lifespan of the Dharma is now given not as a mere five hundred years, but rather one thousand, a total consisting of two "sub-periods" of five hundred years each.[18]

The form of this new tradition suggests that the idea of a total duration of five hundred years was by now far too well accepted simply to be ignored. Rather, Buddhist scholars found it necessary to incorporate this established tradition into a larger periodization scheme, within which the pristine or "true" Dharma would indeed last for only five hundred years, but a less desirable period – which eventually came to be described as that of the "semblance of the true Dharma" (Skt. *saddharmapratirūpaka*)[19] – would

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[17] This impression is strengthened by the fact that the phrase is sometimes preceded by the phrase "after the Buddha's nirvana" (Skt. *tathāgatasya (parinirvṛtasya*, Ch. 如來滅度後), resulting in an expression that can be translated "in the latter five hundred years, [that is,] after the Buddha's nirvana" (e.g., Kern and Nanjio, eds., *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, p. 282, lines 9-10; T. 9.54b29, 9.54c21-22, and 9.62a9). (The divergence between the extant Sanskrit text and the version on which Kumārajīva's Chinese translation was based can be seen in the fact that where extant Sanskrit text has "after the Buddha's nirvana" the Chinese frequently omits this expression, and vice versa.) If this interpretation is correct, Kern's translation of the phrase as "in the second half of the millennium" [sic] and Hurvitz's translation "in the last five hundred years" should both be emended to read simply "in the latter five hundred years."

[18] For a list of textual sources containing this timetable see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," Section 3 ("1,000 Years").

[19] The expression "counterfeit Dharma" is frequently used by Western scholars to translate Skt. *saddharmapratirūpaka* (Ch. *hsiang-fa* / Jap. *zōbō* 像法) into English. The implications of this expression, however, are considerably more pejorative than the

follow. This strategy must have been an extremely effective one for the leaders of the Buddhist community, for it allowed them simultaneously to explain (and thus to render acceptable) both the continued existence of the Buddhist community well beyond its originally allotted time-span and the perceived decline, or even decadence, to which certain elements of that

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original would appear to warrant. The term "counterfeit" implies something false, and in fact deliberately deceptive; yet it seems doubtful that such negative implications were originally intended. In the *Lotus Sūtra*, for example, the term occurs in numerous passages in which the Buddha predicts various disciples to future enlightenment (see the translation by Hurvitz, pp. 54, 55-56, 68, 69, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, and 129). In each of these instances, however, the term is used simply to refer to one component of the total duration of each future Tathāgata's teachings, with no discernable pejorative implications. The use of the term in the Pāli canon (where it apparently occurs in only one passage; see Léon Feer, ed., *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, Part II: *Nidāna-varga* [London: Luzac & Co., 1960], pp. 223-225; English translation in C.A.F. Rhys Davids, trans., *The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Saṃyutta-nikāya)* [1917-30; rpt. London: Pāli Text Society, 1972], Part II, p. 152; for the Chinese parallels see T. 2.226c7 and 419b25) is somewhat more problematic. Here the term does indeed seem pejorative; yet the fact that this is an isolated occurrence, and that the term (Pāli *saddhammapaṭirūpakaṃ*) is introduced abruptly and without explanation, suggests that this usage may have developed elsewhere and simply been adopted (in this sole instance) by a Theravāda writer. (The concept does not appear, for example, in the extensive discussion of the decline of the Dharma in Buddhaghosa's *Manorathapūraṇī*, I, 87ff.) Indeed the near-total absence of this term from the extant texts of the Nikāya schools – in contrast to its abundant occurrences in the Mahāyāna literature – raises the possibility that the term was first coined in Mahāyāna circles, and only subsequently adopted by certain of the Nikāya schools.

The Tibetan translation of the term offers still further evidence that we should hesitate to accept the translation "counterfeit Dharma." Here the standard equivalent of Skt. *saddharmapratirūpaka* is *dam-pa'i chos-kyi gzugs-brnyan* (lit. "reflection of the True Dharma"), suggesting only a pale reflection of an originally vivid teaching; it is particularly important to note that the Tibetan term *cannot* be construed as meaning "counterfeit" or "imitation." Other meanings of the element *gzugs-brnyan* (lit. "borrowed form") include "image" (cf. Ch. 像) and "shadow" (see Das, 1106a; Roerich, vyp. 8, p. 177b). It is my suspicion, in fact, that the original significance of the term may well have been simply "shadow" (for this definition see Vaman Shivram Apte, *The Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary* [1884; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974], p. 420b, where one of the equivalents of Eng. "shadow" is *pratirūpa*). The original sense of this expression, in other words, may have been simply "the shadow of the True Dharma," suggesting only a gradual fading away of the teachings, and not an illegitimate imitation of an earlier form.

Finally, it is worth noting that the term translated as "counterfeit" by E. Conze in his translation of the *Aṣṭasahāsrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (pp. 121-122) – which is sometimes discussed in connection with the expression *saddharmapratirūpaka* – is in fact an entirely different word (Skt. *prativarṇikā*, Ch. *hsiang-ssu* 相似; for the Sanskrit text see P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Aṣṭasahāsrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, p. 57, lines 9-24; for the Chinese see T. 8.546b27ff.). Here the term clearly does have negative connotations, referring to the false teaching that the impermanence of form is to be interpreted as its destruction, and Conze's translation of the word as "counterfeit" is entirely appropriate.

community were apparently subject.

Like the earlier figure of five hundred years, this new tradition seems quickly to have gained general acceptance. The one-thousand-year time scheme appears in a wide variety of Buddhist texts, of both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna authorship;[20] of the latter the majority belong to the Sarvāstivāda school, suggesting that this new tradition may have been formulated in Sarvāstivādin scholastic circles.[21]

Once the concept of extending the lifetime of the Dharma beyond five hundred years had been introduced, new periodization schemes begin to appear in a bewildering variety of forms. We find systems consisting of 1,500 years,[22] 2,000 years,[23] 2,500 years,[24] 5,000 years,[25] and 10,000

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[20] See Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," Section 3 ("1000 Years").

[21] The earliest versions of the 1,000-year tradition – those contained in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. No. 1545, 27.918a9-17), the *Aśokāvadāna* (T. No. 2042, 50.126b26), the Aśoka section of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T. No. 99, 2.177b23), and the *Abhidharmakośa* (VIII, p. 220) – all appear in texts associated with the Sarvāstivāda school. The same tradition appears in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T. No. 1451, 24.405a7); strangely, however, the 1,000-year tradition does not seem to be represented in the surviving canonical literature of any of the other Nikāya schools. It is therefore possible that the 1,000-year tradition was originally the exclusive property of the Sarvāstivāda school, and was subsequently adopted up by its offshoot, the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and by certain Mahāyāna groups.

[22] In the Chinese version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.379c5-9), the Khotanese version of the same text (Emmerick, *Zambasta*, pp. 410-411, line 462), the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T. No. 157, 3.211b26-29; T. No. 158, 3.270a3-4), and the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (T. No. 383, 1013b-c).

[23] In the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (see Chapter 2, "The Tibetan Version," p. 160, lines 35-36, and Chapter 3, "The Mongolian Version," p. 228, lines 35-36), elsewhere in the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.370b8-11), and in the works of certain Chinese commentators, though this number is not found in the extant versions of the texts they cite (see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," section 5, "2,000 Years").

[24] Elsewhere in the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.363a29-b5).

[25] In Buddhaghosa's *Manorathapūraṇī* (I, p. 87), and in the Tibetan and Mongolian translations of the *Maitrī-sūtra* (Peking nos. 751 and 1010).

years,[26] as well as other more anomalous figures.[27] And in fact it is the sheer variety of these schemes that strikes the reader at the outset. The material does indeed seem chaotic at first, and one is tempted to agree with Yamada Ryūjō that in the Indian context, at least, there was simply no normative length for the duration of the Dharma.[28]

Yet a closer look does reveal an underlying pattern. First, it is possible to establish at least a minimal chronological stratification of these traditions. The five-hundred-year tradition, which (if the reasoning outlined above is correct) appears to date from a period two centuries or more before the Common Era, is clearly the oldest. And it may well have been precisely the normative status of this tradition – at least among certain sectarian groups – that led to a crisis in the first or second century C.E., when the allotted time

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[26] Found in the Chinese *Shan-chien lü p'i-po-sha* (T. No. 1462, 24.796c). According to Yamada ("Mappō shisō," p. 368, n. 2) it was this figure that was adopted by later Chinese commentators to construct systems totalling 11,500 years (according to Hui-ssu) or 12,000 years (according to Chi-tsang, Huai-kan, and Liang-p'i). In the works of all these commentators, however, the number 10,000 is used as the duration not of the Dharma as a whole, but of the third period or "dispensation" of the Dharma, known as *mo-fa* (for which see below, pp. 15-19). As Yamada points out, however, the term *mo-fa* (or the concept of such a third period) is nowhere mentioned in the text of the *Shan-chien lü p'i-po-sha* itself.

[27] A total duration of 700 years is predicted by three Chinese translations of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T. Nos. 374, 12.402c26; 375, 12.643b25-26; and 376, 12.880a23) as well as in the *A-nan ch'i-meng ching* (T. No. 494, 14.785a-b), while a system of three 300-year periods plus (apparently) an additional 100 years, totaling 1,000 years in all, is found in the verse translation of the *Prediction to Katyāyana* (T. No. 2029, 49.12b26-c1), though not in the prose recension of the same text (T. No. 2028). Yet another time scheme seems to be implied in the *Benevolent Kings Sūtra* (Ch. *Jen-wang ching*, T. Nos. 245 and 246, translations attributed to Kumārajīva and Amoghavajra, respectively), in which the Buddha says (according to the translation of Kumārajīva) "after my nirvana, during 80, 800, 8,000 years there will be no Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha, and no male and female believers" (T. 8.833b13-15), or (according to Amoghavajra) "after my nirvana, when the True Dharma is about to expire, in the latter 50 years, the latter 500 years, [and] the latter 5,000 years there will not be any Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha" (T. 8.844b6-7). These figures may not imply a specific timetable, however, but simply a general sense that the world will be devoid of the Buddhist teachings for a prolonged period of time.

[28] More specifically, Yamada argues that the "constant fluctuation" in the figures given for the duration of *shōbō* and *zōbō* demonstrates that Indian Buddhists felt free to "think quite freely" about their duration ("Mappō shisō," p. 367).

had expired and a reinterpretation of the earlier tradition to allow for the continued existence of the Buddhist community was suddenly seen as vital.[29]

The 1,000-year traditions, I would argue, are the product of this crisis in historical self-consciousness. By reinterpreting the original figure of five hundred years to refer only to the duration of the "True Dharma" (that is, the Dharma in its pristine condition), and not of the Dharma as a whole, Buddhist thinkers were able to rationalize the continued existence of the Buddhist community beyond its originally allotted timespan without repudiating the earlier tradition altogether. Following this line of reasoning (and assuming that the 1,000-year tradition may have enjoyed a period of cross-sectarian orthodoxy), we would expect the more extended traditions – those predicting a total duration of the Dharma of more than 1,000 years – to have arisen sometime around a thousand years after the time of the Buddha. And the available (albeit rather skimpy) data would seem to support such a hypothesis: not a single text translated into Chinese before the late 5th century, for example, predicts that the Dharma will endure for a period longer than 1,000 years.[30]

It is at this point, I would suggest – that is, around the late 5th/early 6th century – that the loss of even a minimal consensus on the duration of the Dharma takes place. Indian Buddhism was of course never subject to any centralized authority capable of ruling on such matters; yet, as we have seen, there is some evidence that the figures of five hundred and one thousand

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[29] The arguments advanced in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 27.918a9-17) in favor of a 1,000-year timetable, for instance, appear to show a keen awareness of the previously normative status of the five-hundred-year tradition.

[30] The earliest Chinese translations of texts containing timetables exceeding 1,000 years are the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (T. No. 383; 12.1013b-c), translated during the period 479-502, and the *Shan-chien lü p'i-po-sha* (T. No. 1462; 24.796c), translated in 488.

years were accepted in turn as orthodox, across at least some sectarian boundaries. Once the figure of one thousand years was breached, however, no easy solution – such as the simple doubling (via reinterpretation) of the original five-hundred-year tradition – was available. Thus it is not altogether surprising that a wide variety of longer time schemes (the products, perhaps, of different sectarian groups[31]) should have arisen.

The seemingly wild proliferation of timetables that appears during this third phase, then, may be viewed as a response by the Buddhist community to a problem brought about precisely by the normative quality of the earlier time schemes: Once a certain timetable had attained the status of an "orthodox" tradition, it was inevitable that – once the predicated number of years had elapsed – the Buddhist community would eventually face the threat of the sudden and total undermining of its own legitimacy. The greater the normative status assigned to the existing tradition, in other words, the more urgent was the demand for a response. The very creation of such fixed timetables, then – however expansive they may have seemed at the outset – guaranteed that new and more extensive chronologies would eventually be required.

[31] It is worth noting that a clear majority of the five-hundred-year traditions belong to schools of the Nikāya group (that is, to non-Mahāyāna sects), while the 1,000-year traditions are more evenly divided among Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources, and the timetables exceeding 1,000 years are found almost exclusively in Mahāyāna works.

Excursus: The Concept of *mo-fa* / *mappō* 末法 ("End-Dharma")

To the specialist in East Asian Buddhism, one of the most striking features of the texts reviewed above is that not one of them contains any reference to the concept of *mo-fa* (Jap. *mappō*), lit. "end-Dharma," or to the three-part time scheme of "True Dharma" / "Semblance Dharma" / "End-Dharma" which is so ubiquitous in the East Asian sources. But in fact no such three-part timetable has yet been identified in *any* Buddhist text of certifiably Indian origin.[32] Yet the idea has dominated the intellectual horizon of many East Asian Buddhist thinkers since the late 6th century, and much of the subsequent history of East Asian Buddhism cannot be understood without reference to this concept. Though the term *mo-fa* does not appear in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* itself,[33] it is so closely connected with the general issue of Buddhist theories of decline that it is worth pausing at this point to consider the implications of this concept, and to analyze the available information concerning the time and place in which it may have arisen.

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[32] The sole exception cited in Lamotte's thorough review of the literature is a brief reference to these three periods in the *Ta-sheng t'ung-hsing ching* (T. No. 673, 16.651c 12-13), of which no Indian original is extant. The concept is nowhere further elaborated in the text, however, and given the fact that the sūtra was translated into Chinese only in 570 C.E. – by which time the three-part time scheme was already well known in China – this passage may well represent an interpretive translation on the part of the Chinese. In any case, this brief mention of *mo-fa* in a late Chinese translation is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate that the tripartite scheme was known in India.

[33] There is clearly some difference of opinion on this matter. According to Kajiyama, who has drawn heavily on the works of Yamada Ryūjō, the term does not appear in this text (*Shinran*, p. 328); yet Yamada states elsewhere ("The Logic of Crisis: The Mappō Theory in India, China and Japan," in *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1958* [Tokyo: Maruzen, 1960], pp. 459-462 [p. 460]) that it does. Tao-ch'o, in his *An-lo chi*, cites a passage from the *Candragarbha-sūtra* which would indicate that the text *did* employ the term *mappō* : "Thus the *Ta-chi Yüeh-tsang ching* states that 'in the time of *mo-fa*, although myriads of sentient beings will cultivate the practices of the path, there will not be one who will obtain (the fruits)' " (T. 47.13c, cited in Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Age*, pp. 46-47). As Hubbard points out, however (p. 44), there are several interpolations in Tao-ch'o's version of the *Yüeh-tsang fen*; thus this citation should not be taken as solid evidence that the *Yüeh-tsang fen* ever contained such a reference.

The overwhelming importance of the idea of *mappō* in Japanese Buddhist thought has led a number of Japanese scholars – most notably Yamada Ryūjō[34] – to devote considerable efforts to identify the point of origin of this term, and of the tripartite time scheme of "True Dharma" / "Semblance Dharma" / "End-Dharma" with which it is associated, within the Indian Buddhist tradition. This enterprise, however – despite the formidable resources of Japanese Buddhist scholarship – has proved to be rather daunting. Even the Sanskrit equivalent of this term is still the subject of disagreement: a persistent rumor in the Buddhological literature (supported by no less an authority than Mochizuki) has it that the Sanskrit equivalent of *mappō* is the term *saddharmavipralopa* (lit. "destruction of the True Dharma"),[35] yet it has long since been pointed out by Étienne Lamotte that the proper equivalent of *mappō* is rather *paścimadharma* (lit. "end-dharma," "latter Dharma"),[36] an expression which does not, however, seem to be attested in the Sanskrit or Pāli Buddhist literature.[37] Even more persuasive (given the admittedly fragmentary state of the extant Sanskrit Buddhist literature) is the testimony of the Tibetan sources, which contain no equivalent of the East Asian term *mo-fa* / *mappō*.[38] Since the Tibetan

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[34] See especially his articles "Mappō shisō ni tsuite," "Rengemen-gyō ni tsuite" (in *Yamaguchi Hakase kanreki kinen* [Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1955], pp. 110-123), and Chapter 8 of his *Daijō Bukkyō seiritsu ron josetsu* (pp. 567-592).

[35] *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, p. 4747a. This equivalence is also given in Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, vol. 2, p. 1284b, among others, and has found its way into a substantial number of Western-language works.

[36] Lamotte, *HBI*, p. 211.

[37] The term is not registered, in any event, in any of the available Sanskrit or Pāli concordances. Nor does Lamotte himself cite any instances of its occurrence, and readers familiar with Lamotte's work will realize that when he does not adduce a single example of a term in which he is interested, this constitutes a rather strong argument from silence.

[38] This statement is based on my own review of the relevant Tibetan canonical

Buddhist canon has preserved a vast library of Indian works no longer extant in the original languages, the apparent absence of such a concept from this literature provides a strong argument that it was unknown (or at the very least, did not enjoy wide currency) in 7th-12th c. India.[39]

If no equivalent of the term *mo-fa* appears in the Sanskrit or Tibetan literature, where, then, did the Chinese get this expression? To provide a definitive answer to this question would require a thorough examination of the earliest occurrences of this expression in Chinese Buddhist literature, a task made difficult both by the sheer bulk of the Chinese Buddhist canon and by the uncertainty concerning the dates of some of the earliest translations. Yet there does appear to be a consensus in Japanese scholarship on at least two aspects of this problem: first, that the earliest use of the term *mo-fa* in a Chinese Buddhist text was probably that found in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sutra*;[40] and second, that it was Nan-yüeh Hui-ssu (515-577), best

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literature and on discussions with Tulku Thondup, an incarnate lama of the Nyingma school, whose education in the traditional Tibetan monastic system (culminating in the *rdo-rje slob-dpon*, Skt. *vajrācarya*, degree) included no mention of such a term, or of the three-part time scheme with which it is associated in East Asia.

39 The majority of the texts in the Tibetan canon were translated from Indian languages (ordinarily Sanskrit) during the 8th-12th c. C.E. For further details see Helmut H. Hoffmann, *Tibet: A Handbook* (Bloomington, IN: Research Center for the Language Sciences [Indiana University], 1978), pp. 202-207.

40 T. No. 262, 9.37c29, translated in 402 C.E. In citing this passage as the first reference under his entry *mappō* Mochizuki is perhaps suggesting that it is the earliest use of the term, though he does not say so explicitly. He does not, in any case, cite any earlier example. The term does not occur elsewhere in the Taishō edition of Kumārajīva's translation, though there may be a second occurrence in other editions; Hurvitz's English translation suggests that the text from which he was working read *mo-fa* in place of the reading *fa-mo* 法末 found in T. 9.46a13 (see below, Appendix 2, "The Latter Age," no. 22), a variant reading also noted by the Taishō editors themselves (9.46a, n. 7). For the passage cited by Mochizuki (and the corresponding passages in Dharmarakṣa's version and in the extant Sanskrit text) see below, Appendix 2, no. 16.

In this sole instance it might be legitimate to consider the term *mo-fa* as the equivalent of Skt. *saddharmavipralopa*, a term which does occur in the corresponding Sanskrit text (though the extant Sanskrit expression is much longer). Where it *cannot* be considered as the equivalent of this Sanskrit expression is in its usual context: that is, as the name for the third of three periods in the lifespan of the Dharma.

known as the teacher of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i, who first outlined a three-part time scheme based on the periods of "True Dharma" / "Semblance Dharma" / and "End-Dharma."[41] It is important to note, however, that in Kumārajīva's text the term *mo-fa* has no connection with a three-part time scheme of the type subsequently constructed by Hui-ssu and his successors. Though the *Lotus* contains numerous references to the periods of *cheng-fa* (Skt. *saddharma*) and *hsiang-fa* (*saddharmapratirūpaka*), the term *mo-fa* never occurs in the same context.[42] What is meant here, rather than a discrete third period, is simply the "ending of the Dharma" in a generic sense, with no periodization scheme implied. While Kumārajīva's use of the term thus may constitute a first appearance of the *term* in Buddhist Chinese, it does not yet constitute the first appearance of the more complex tripartite concept.

Were this a run-of-the-mill sutra produced by a mediocre translator, Kumārajīva's use of the term *mo-fa* might not be of any unusual significance. Given the tremendous influence of the *Lotus Sutra* on East Asian Buddhism, however, and the near-universal circulation of Kumārajīva's translation of this text in particular, I believe we are obliged to take seriously the fact that *all* occurences of the tripartite formulation of "true / semblance / end-Dharma" in East Asian texts postdate the appearance of this work. I would suggest the following theory: first, that Kumārajīva used the expression *mo-fa* simply in the sense of "the end of the Dharma," that is, as a reference to the destruction of the Dharma in a generic sense; and second, that later readers (relying solely on his translation, without

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41 See his *Nan-yüeh Ssu ta ch'an-shih li shih-yüan wen*, composed in 558 C.E. (T. No. 1933, 46.786c).

42 See Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Age*, p. 22, n. 21. For a list of the references to the "True Dharma" and "Semblance Dharma" in Hurvitz's translation see above, n. 19.

reference to the underlying Sanskrit original) understood the term as being grammatically analogous to the expressions *cheng-fa* and *hsiang-fa* with which they were already familiar.[43] Since both of these expressions had come to have chronological implications – that is, to refer to discrete periods in the history of the Dharma – the term *mo-fa* was quite naturally understood in the same way. In this fashion *mo-fa* came to be interpreted in the sense of "end-Dharma" or "final Dharma," as opposed to the more complete, pure and desirable Dharma of earlier ages. This is not to suggest that the *Lotus Sutra* itself served as a major source of *mo-fa* theorizing – in fact it is important to note that it did not[43] – but simply that the term *mo-fa* may well have entered Chinese Buddhist vocabulary through this text. Subsequently the term *mo-fa* took on a life of its own in Buddhist Chinese, where it spawned a whole series of speculations on the nature of this supposed third period. The result of this initial misunderstanding, then, was the creation of what Lewis Lancaster has described in another context as an "apocryphal word" – that is, a Chinese Buddhist technical term which has no antecedent in Sanskrit.[44]

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[43] As pointed out by Hubbard (*Salvation in the Final Age*, p. 23 and n. 22) the *Lotus Sūtra* itself is never cited as a source for the idea of *mappō* by the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (T. No. 2122), an important encyclopedia of Buddhist doctrine compiled by Tao-shih in the latter half of the 7th c. which devotes an entire section to this concept (T. 53.1005ff).

[44] Lewis Lancaster, "The Question of 'Apocryphal' Words in Chinese Buddhist Texts," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Atlanta, GA, November 1986. Lancaster's paper deals primarily with Ch. *pen-chüeh* / Jap. *hongaku* 本覚, "original enlightenment," a term which he considers a Chinese invention, without any identifiable Sanskrit antecedent.

THE CAUSES OF DECLINE

Thus far I have dealt only with the problem of the duration of the Dharma. At this point we may turn to a consideration of another aspect of the problem of decline: that is, what Buddhist writers have envisioned as the reasons for the disappearance of the Dharma. Happily for our purposes, many of the texts that enumerate these causes also contain specific geographical and historical references, which may help us to pinpoint the time and place of their composition. After analyzing the specific causes associated with the decline of the Dharma, I will consider some of the historical circumstances that may have led to the development of these decline traditions.

Not all the texts that assume the Dharma is (or will be) undergoing a decline, of course, offer any explanation of its causes. Thus the *Lotus Sutra* and the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* – to cite only two of the best-known examples – are permeated by a general anticipation of decline, yet neither has anything to say about the circumstances leading to this situation.[45] My concern in this section, however, will be only with those texts that do contain explicit discussions of the causes of decline.

In the most general terms, the events blamed for the decline and eventual disappearance of the Dharma may be divided into two categories: causes that are internal to the Buddhist community (that is, various sins of omission and commission perpetrated by Buddhists themselves), on the one hand, and causes that disrupt the Buddhist community from without on the other. The following discussion will accordingly follow this format.

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[45] For references to the decline of the Dharma found in the *Lotus Sutra* see below, Appendix 2, "The 'Latter Age': References in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*." For references to decline in the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra* see the English translation in E. B. Cowell et al., *Buddhist Mahâyâna Texts*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLIX (1894; rpt. New York: Dover, 1969), p. 102.

INTERNAL CAUSES: LAXITY WITHIN THE SAṂGHA

The earliest surviving sources that predict the disappearance of Buddhism are unanimous in attributing this catastrophe to failings on the part of Buddhists themselves. Of the five categories outlined by Kumoi Shōzen, who has attempted to develop an all-inclusive typology for the causes of decline,[46] we may include here at least three: religious and moral laxity in general, failure to cultivate the four states of mindfulness, and carelessness in the memorization and transmission of the teachings. By extension we may also include here the story blaming the early demise of Buddhism on the nuns, since the implication of this passage is that the very presence of women in the saṃgha tends to undermine the overall moral level of the group.

Interestingly, of the explanations falling within these four categories only the story of the nuns appears to be associated with a specific timetable. In the sources belonging to the other three categories the lifespan of the Dharma is never definitively stated, and the decay of the Dharma is considered reversible if Buddhist practitioners will recognize their errors and change their ways. In sources attributing the decline to external causes, by contrast, this is far from being the case: here the demise of the Dharma is blamed solely on causes external to the saṃgha itself, and even the best efforts of devoted believers are portrayed as leading inexorably to the annihilation of the Buddhist religion.

With the exception of one passage from the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, which

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[46] See his "Hōmetsu shisō," pp. 290-292. The first three causes listed above comprise Kumoi's categories 2, 3, and 4, while the story of the nuns is assigned to his category 1. Kumoi's category 5 contains all those traditions ascribing the demise of the Dharma to external causes; these texts will be discussed separately below. For a detailed English synopsis of Kumoi's article see David Chappell, "Early Forebodings," pp. 123-127.

has a parallel in the Chinese version of the same text,[47] the passages cited by Kumoi in categories 2, 3 and 4 are drawn solely from the Pāli canon of the Theravāda school.[48] This does not, however, represent any lopsidedness in methodology on Kumoi's part: indeed it is one of the striking features of the Buddhist decline literature that its distribution according to type is strikingly asymmetrical in the literature of the various sectarian groups. Thus the Theravāda canon is particularly rich in passages blaming the demise of the Dharma on internal causes, but does not contain a single prophecy of the "external causes" genre. (In particular, it is striking that the well-known "Kauśāmbī story," which will be discussed in detail below, is entirely unknown to the Theravāda tradition.) In the Sarvāstivāda literature, by contrast, precisely the reverse is true: while references to external causes of decline abound, internal factors are only lightly treated and are never considered to be decisive. To explain this divergence will require considerable further discussion; at this point let me note only that the difference is likely to be the result of the different geographical bases of the two schools: while the Theravāda has been essentially a southern school throughout most of its history, the Sarvāstivādins have been strongest in the north. And the decline texts blaming the fate of the Dharma on external causes, as we shall see below, appear to be largely the product of a northwest Indian environment.

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47 *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, ii, 223-225; cf. T. 2.226b-c and 2.419b-c. The Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is generally associated with the Sarvāstivāda school.

48 For Kumoi's category 2 see *Aṅguttara-nikāya* V, 20 (iii, 247), VI, 40 (iii 339-340), and VII, 56 (iv 84); for category 3 see *Saṃyutta-nikāya* XLII, 22, 23, 25; and for category 4 *Aṅguttara-nikāya* IV, 154 and 156. The story of the nuns is, of course, far more widespread; for a complete listing of the versions of this story identified to date see below, Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," Section 1, "Five Hundred Years."

EXTERNAL CAUSES: INCURSIONS FROM WITHOUT

Texts attributing the disappearance of the Dharma to external causes are often strikingly specific in their discussion of the concrete historical circumstances that will lead to this decline. And despite numerous differences of detail, virtually all of these texts attribute the decline of the Dharma to circumstances resulting from a single event: the invasion of India by one or more foreign, non-Buddhist kings. These texts may conveniently be divided into two unequally weighted categories, based on whether they describe this event as (1) an invasion of northwest India by a coalition of three (or two, or four) kings – variously named but most commonly identified with the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians – which results in a great intra-saṃgha struggle at the city of Kauśāmbī; or (2) the invasion of northwest India and Kashmir by the notorious Hephthalite ruler Mihirakula. While prophecies of the first type abound,[49] the second category contains a far smaller number of texts, of which by far the best known is the *Lien-hua-mien ching*,[50] which relates the life and conquests of Mihirakula in *jātaka* format, but portrays its protagonist as a devil bent on the destruction of the Buddhist religion. Interestingly, however, this text predicts not the actual demise of the Dharma, but only the experience of considerable suffering and devastation by the Buddhist community. Thus while Japanese scholars have generally treated this text in conjunction with the genuine demise-of-the-Dharma texts,[51] it is important to emphasize that the *Lien-hua-mien ching*

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[49] For a discussion of the fourteen extant versions of the story see below, p. 25ff.

[50] T. No. 386, 12.1070-1077. For an analysis of its content and historical context see Yamada Ryūjō, "Rengemen-gyō ni tsuite."

[51] See the works of Yamada, Kumoi and Kajiyama cited above, n. 1.

neither predicts the total disappearance of the Buddhist religion nor offers any timetable for that event.

Likewise in the "external causes" category, but not belonging to either of the two types just described, is one anomalous text that attributes the extinction of Buddhism to external events not associated with a foreign invasion. This is the well-known *Benevolent Kings Sutra* (*Jen-wang ching*, T. Nos. 245 and 246), which blames the demise of the Dharma not on non-Buddhist intruders but on the overregulation of the saṃgha by the state.[52]

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[52] There is every reason to suspect that this text – if not an outright Chinese composition – has been subject to substantial modification by a Chinese hand. The title itself has a suspicious appearance: the term *jen* 仁 is of course a well-established Chinese (especially Confucian) term, but it is difficult to identify any Indian Buddhist term which could have served as its antecedent. Second, while the text clearly draws heavily on the Indian *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, those sections which do not consist of wholesale borrowings in this style betray concerns which are not typically seen in Indian Buddhist literature. The mention of the "hundred families" (T. 8.832c20, 843a29; see Edward Conze's synopsis in *The Short Prajñāpāramitā Texts* [London: Luzac & Co., 1974], p. 178), the arrangement of a series of items in groups of nine (in Kumārajīva's translation 8.832c27-29, but not in Amoghavajra's version; Conze, p. 179), and the apparent reference to sūtras being kept in boxes (8.832c28, 843b18; Conze p. 179) all smack of Chinese, not Indian, conventions.

Most telling of all, however, may be the content of this decline section itself. Here the demise of Buddhism is attributed neither to laxity on the part of the Buddhists themselves nor to the destructiveness of non-Buddhist invaders, but to restrictions on monastic ordinations, stūpa-building, and the crafting of images imposed on the saṃgha by the government. It would be difficult to identify any period in Indian history when the Buddhist community would have felt threatened by an encroachment of this sort; Indian governments might patronize Buddhism or not – and we should recall that both the Kushans and the Guptas, neither an ostensibly Buddhist dynasty, appear to have made considerable financial contributions to Buddhist groups – but they were hardly known for harassing the Buddhist community by overregulation. In China, by contrast, relations between church and state were an issue almost from the outset, and concern over this problem reached a peak precisely at the time of Kumārajīva's supposed translation of this text, as is evidenced by Hui-yüan's submission of a memorial on the subject in 403 to the Eastern Chin ruler. For Kumārajīva – if he in fact is to be associated with this "translation" at all – or for any Buddhist monk operating under the far more autocratic rule of the non-Chinese Northern Wei state, such a direct confrontation might well have been suicidal, and it is tempting to regard this passage as a more subtle way of communicating views comparable to those of Hui-yüan to a far less receptive audience.

A study by a Japanese scholar who argues both for the Chinese composition (or rather, compilation) of this text and for a date somewhat after the time of Kumārajīva has recently been brought to my attention by Rebecca Bernen (personal communication, 1988). According to Bernen, in his *Chūgoku mikkyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1979) Yoritomi Motohiro maintains that the *Jen-wang ching* consists of an original

The "Kauśāmbī Story"

A substantial number of Buddhist texts attribute the eventual extinction of the Dharma to a dispute between two Buddhist factions at the city of Kauśāmbī, an event triggered by the invasion of northwest India by a coalition of non-Buddhist kings. Both the names and the number of these foreign invaders vary from one account to another; in fact, this version of the decline prophecy appears to have been subject to continual updating, with the names and locations of the foreign powers changed to accommodate new historical circumstances.[53] Though the story appears to have originated in non-Mahāyāna circles,[54] there are Mahāyāna recensions of the story as well,[55] and this version of the decline prophecy appears to have enjoyed a long period of cross-sectarian currency. The decline prophecies contained in

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(probably Indian) Prajñāpāramitā text to which various Chinese interpolations have been added. Yoritomi does not accept the attribution of the text to Kumārajīva, and suggests rather that it was compiled in China during the century or so after Kumārajīva's death.

[53] Versions of the text that show clear historical reinterpretation (and could not have been composed in an Indian context) include the *Arhat-saṃghavardhana-vyākaraṇa*, probably an originally Khotanese composition (the only extant version is a Tibetan translation preserved in the Tanjur, Peking No. 5698), where the three evil kings are associated with the Persians, Turks, and Tibetans, and the *Li-yul chos-kyi lo-rgyus* ("Religious Annals of Khotan"), likewise preserved only in Tibetan translation, where the three powers in question are China, Tibet, and the Uighurs. The latter work was never incorporated into the Tibetan Buddhist canon, but is preserved in a manuscript copy found at Tunhuang (Pelliot Tunhuang ms. no. 960, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). For further details see below, "Late Khotanese Adaptations" (pp. 77-97).

[54] See below, p. 110-112.

[55] Mahāyāna versions of the story include those found in the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397); the Khotanese version of the same text (in Emmerick, *Zambasta*, pp. 368-423); and the Chinese *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (T. No. 383). Non-Mahāyāna recensions include those found in the Tibetan *Candragarbha-sūtra* (Peking No. 1025, and the Tunhuang manuscript [J601.1] kept in the Stein Collection at the India Office Library, London); the Chinese prose and verse translations of the *Prediction of Kātyāyana* (T. Nos. 2028, 2029); the Tibetan *Karmaśataka* (Peking No. 1007); the Chinese *Aśoka-avadāna* (T. No. 2042); and the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T. No. 99, 2.177- 180). Of these the last three are generally attributed to the Sarvāstivāda school, the prose version of the Kātyāyana prophecy represents a Dharmaguptaka recension, and the sectarian affiliation of the other non-Mahāyāna versions has not been established.

the four extant translations of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* are all versions of the Kauśāmbī story, and this alone justifies our extended analysis of its content.

In analyzing the content of the texts belonging to this group one of our primary concerns will be to establish a chronological stratification of these recensions, with an eye toward identifying the earliest version of the tradition and ultimately toward pinpointing the historical circumstances that may have led to its composition. Accordingly, the following discussion will begin with those texts that have some claim to chronological priority, and will conclude with those that clearly represent later adaptations of the tradition.

1. The *Mahāvibhāṣā*

Of all the surviving versions of the *Kauśāmbī* story – so argues Étienne Lamotte in his survey of the Buddhist decline literature – the account given in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (*A-pi-ta-mo ta p'i-p'o-sha lun*, T. No. 1545, 27.918a18-b21) represents "la version la plus sobre et la mieux conçue."[56] While Lamotte does not state explicitly that he considers this recension to be the oldest, he implies that this is the case both by treating this version first and by his comment (following his resumé of its contents) that "over the course of history, each time the Buddhist order felt itself to be threatened, this prophecy was re-edited and enriched with new details designed to bring it into harmony with contemporary events."[57] Lamotte's choice is perhaps somewhat surprising in view of the fact that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* survives only in a very late Chinese translation (tr. Hsüan-tsang, 656-659). Yet the dates of Chinese translations cannot be used to establish even a relative, let alone an absolute, chronology of the actual composition of the texts in question; their

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[56] Lamotte, *HBI*, pp. 217-218.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

usefulness is limited to providing a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of a given text in a language other than Chinese. Thus the *Mahāvibhāṣā* could well contain material much older than its 7th-century Chinese translation, and in fact the bulk of its content is generally assigned to around the 2nd c. C.E.[58]

Lamotte's selection of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* account as the most primitive version of the Kauśāmbī story appears to be based on the relatively straightforward nature of the account, which contains few extraneous details, appeals to magical powers, or references to supernatural intervention. Moreover, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* contains the smallest number of personal names – and in fact the smallest overall cast of characters – of any extant version of the tradition. I will begin with this version of the Kauśāmbī story, then, as a possible candidate for the most primitive version of the tradition. Since a complete French translation of the relevant passage has already been made available by Lamotte,[59] it will be sufficient to provide only a resumé of its content here.

At an unspecified time in the future, three kings will arise in Jambudvīpa: a religious (that is, Buddhist) king in the east, and two non-Buddhist kings born among the *dasyu-mleccha* ("enemy-barbarians"). These non-Buddhist kings will cause great harm to Buddhist believers, and will destroy Buddhist stupas and monasteries. The good king, hearing of this, will raise an army, and will succeed in capturing and killing the two unbelieving kings.

Subsequently the victorious king will summon all the monks of Jambudvīpa to Kauśāmbī for a great quinquennial feast (*pañcavarṣa*). Here the text

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[58] See for example Lamotte, *HBI*, p. 424.

[59] Lamotte, *HBI*, pp. 218-220.

comments that these monks have only left home for mercenary reasons, and do not exert themselves in meditation and memorization of scriptures. In fact, at that time there will remain in Jambudvīpa only two real practitioners of the Dharma: an arhat named Sūrata[60] and a *tripiṭaka* master named Śiṣyaka, the latter being the head of the saṃgha.

At this point five hundred pious lay people will somehow discern (the mechanism is unspecified) that the Dharma is about to disappear. In good abhidharmic fashion, these lay disciples produce a variety of theories to account for their present circumstances and to explain why their gifts to the saṃgha can still produce merit at this late date in the history of the religion. On that very night – on the occasion of the recital of the *prātimokṣa* by the monastic community – a quarrel breaks out among the monks. Śiṣyaka, it would seem, wants to recite the *prātimokṣa* only in abbreviated fashion, arguing that there is no one alive who is able to keep the monastic precepts in their entirety. Sūrata, however, rises to object, claiming that he does indeed adhere to all of the precepts. Śiṣyaka's disciples are outraged at seeing their teacher humiliated in this fashion and, overcome by wrath, they strike and kill the arhat. At this point, the text tells us, the "absolute *saddharma*" (*paramārtha-saddharma*, Ch. 勝義正法) will disappear. Meanwhile Śiṣyaka is also killed (the *Mahāvibhāṣā* offers a variety of theories as to the identities of the perpetrators, including a group of *devas*, *nāgas* and *yakṣas*, the disciples of the arhat, or the king himself). At this point, we are told, the "relative *saddharma*" (*saṃvṛti-saddharma*, Ch. 世俗正法) will disappear.

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60 Read *Surata* by Lamotte (*HBI*, pp.218, 219) and *Sorata* by Kajiyama (*Shinran*, p. 322), but the translation *Des-pa* ("of good nature") given in the Tibetan *Karmaśataka* and the Chinese glosses 善意 "good intention" (in the *Aśokāvadāna*) and 善 "good" (in the prose version of the *Kātyāyana* prophecy), as well as the Khotanese transcription of the name as *Sūratā* (~ *Sūradā*), all support the reading with the long vowel *ū* in the first syllable. (For a complete list of the renderings of this name in the texts examined in this thesis see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 7.)

For seven days and nights no one will realize that the Dharma has finally disappeared. (This is the result of an obscure karmic chain of events set in motion by Śākyamuni's propensity while he was still a bodhisattva to hide the faults of others and to hold their secrets in confidence.) But when these seven days have expired, the end of the Dharma will be heralded by a series of earthquakes, meteor showers, and fires. The gods will beat their drums (i.e., thunder will sound), Māra and his entourage will rejoice, and an unidentified voice will proclaim: "As of today the Saddharma of Śākya, the great hermit, has disappeared."

Several features of this tale lend support to Lamotte's suggestion that it may be the oldest surviving version. First, while in other versions of the story there are three or even four unbelieving kings, here we have only two; and while other versions name each of the kings individually, in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* they – like the "good king in the east" – remain anonymous. Moreover, while other versions of the story refer not only to the good king but also to his son, here only the king himself is mentioned. Likewise, various miraculous events found in other recensions – such as the birth of sons to five hundred of the king's ministers, and of a talking foal to the king's horse, on the night that his own son is born – are lacking in this edition. The tale is, as Lamotte claims, reasonably sober and well conceived.

Despite the relative simplicity of this story, however, we are not in a position to assume that it is identical with the primitive version that served as the ultimate source for the others. Several features betray an advanced level of sophistication with respect to variants in the tradition: the offering of three different theories as to who killed Śiṣyaka certainly displays an awareness of rival versions of the tradition, while the Buddhist laity are likewise not satisfied with just one theoretical explanation of the conditions

they are experiencing in the final days of the Dharma. The terminology used in the text also belies the assumption of an early date; the expression *dasyu-mleccha*, for example, is extremely rare in Indian Buddhist texts prior to contact with the Muslims,[61] and the distinction between *paramārtha-saddharma* and *saṃvṛti-saddharma* is a rather unusual formulation that may be indebted to the terminology of the Mādhyamika school.

One further point should be made with respect to the idea that simplicity itself can be used as a criterion for chronological priority. As a general rule it is certainly true that Buddhist scriptures tend to acquire extra layers through an ongoing process of accretion, and only rarely undergo a parallel process of diminution via editorial elimination. This generalization is valid primarily for the vinaya and sutra literature, however; when we come to works of the abhidharma genre we are confronted by a very different set of literary processes. Certainly the abhidharma literature (including the *Mahāvibhāṣā*) was subject to occasional interpolations and additions. Yet during the process of the initial incorporation of existing traditions into the abhidharma literature a quite different process may be discerned. This procedure might best be described as moving in two separate (even opposite) directions: first, the *reduction* of an existing tradition to its most essential elements, shorn of all literary flourishes, in order to cast it in a form appropriate for inclusion in an essentially scholastic work; and second, the *expansion* of the tradition by the editor's attempt to catalogue all the important variants in the tradition. Thus we may expect the abhidharma version of any given story to be both more limited (in terms of plot, setting, and dialogue) and more extensive (in terms of the inclusion of

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[61] Note that Hsüan-tsang transliterates this term (as *ta-hsu mi-li-ch'e* 達絮蔑戾車) rather than translating it into Chinese. Did he mistake this unfamiliar term for an ethnic name?

variants drawn from different sources) than any given example of the story found in the sutra or vinaya literature.

It is just such a complex product that we find in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*'s version of the Kauśāmbī story. The account is both streamlined (with respect to the absence of ethnic names and the reduced number of characters involved in the story) and detailed (with respect to certain theoretical concerns of evident interest to abhidharma scholars). Thus the very simplicity of the story may serve as evidence, in this case, not of the chronological priority of this version of the story, but simply of the literary genre in which it occurs.

Finally, as a point of comparison with other versions of the Kauśāmbī story we might note that the *Mahāvibhāṣā* assumes a total duration of the Dharma of 1,000 years. No version of the Kauśāmbī story contains a shorter timetable; and if the presence of this number does not in itself confirm the priority of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* version (since numerous other recensions contain the same figure), it at least offers no evidence to the contrary.

The *Mahāvibhāṣā* recension of the Kauśāmbī story, then, exhibits a number of features that we might expect to find in the most primitive version of the tale. In other respects, however, it shows clear signs of having been updated in an environment in which several versions of the tradition were already in circulation. We must reserve judgment on the priority of this recension, then, until we have first examined the rival claims of certain other versions of the tradition.

2. The *Aśoka-avadāna* Group

Another nominee for the status of the most primitive recension of the Kauśāmbī story is that given in the 25th chapter of the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama*, described by David Chappell as "probably the oldest version of the

story."[62] Chappell does not provide specific evidence for this supposition, though his reasoning may be that since the *āgamas* are among the oldest layers of the Buddhist canonical literature, this text is therefore likely to be a relatively ancient version of the tradition.[63] The version of the story given in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* cannot be considered in isolation, however, for it has close parallels in two other texts preserved in the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist canons. The texts comprising this group (which will be described here as the "*Aśoka-avadāna* group") are the following:

1. ***Saṃyukta-āgama*** (Chinese): T. No. 99 (2.177b12-180a5). Translated during the period 436-443 C.E. by Guṇabhadra.

2. ***Aśoka-avadāna*** (Chinese): T. No. 2042 (50.126c23-128b4). Though the bulk of the text was translated in 306 C.E. by An Fa-ch'in, the chapters containing the Kauśāmbī story were not added until the end of the 5th c.[64] A complete French translation is given in Jean Przyluski, *A-yu-wang-tchouan, Chronique des premiers siècles du bouddhisme* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), Chapter 9, pp. 399-409. Note that the Kauśāmbī story is not found in the other Chinese translation of the *Aśoka-avadāna* (T. No. 2043), nor does it occur in the extant Sanskrit version of the text.[65]

3. ***Karmaśataka*** (Tibetan): Peking No. 1007 , Narthang No. 325, Derge No. 340 (vol. 73, *mdo-sde* ཧ་, 265b7-273b1), Lhasa No. 346. (For

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[62] Chappell, "Early Forebodings," p. 128.

[63] As Chappell himself notes, however ("Early Forebodings," p. 128), the Kauśāmbī story is absent from the corresponding section of the Pāli *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. This lack of parallel would weaken considerably any argument for the primacy of the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* version of the story based solely on the section of the canon within which it occurs.

[64] Lamotte, *HBI*, p. 221.

[65] For an English translation of the Sanskrit *Aśoka-avadāna* see John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

the corresponding Mongolian version see Ligeti no. 1101 [vol. 89, *eldeb* 30, 357a-371a].) Since the text contains no colophon an exact translation date cannot be established. The title does appear, however, in the *Ldan-kar-ma*, a catalogue of the Buddhist texts that had been translated into Tibetan by the time of King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (r. 755-797 C.E.).[66] Thus the Tibetan translation should be assigned to a period no later than the second half of the 8th century.[67]

These three recensions (of which the Tibetan *Karmaśataka* and the Chinese *Saṃyukta-āgama* bear the closest resemblance to one another) share a number of common features. First, in contrast to the *Mahāvibhāṣā* version (which is entirely in prose), these three recensions are all in a mixture of prose and verse. Often, but not always, the prose merely recapitulates what has already been given (or is about to be given) in verse. It would thus be possible to follow some, but not all, of the plot line simply by reading the verse sections alone. Second, in comparison with the *Mahāvibhāṣā* version the cast of characters is considerably expanded in these three accounts. While the *Mahāvibhāṣā* refers simply to the "king of Kauśāmbī," for example, these three texts distinguish between the king himself (named Mahendrasena) and his son Duṣprasaha, who ultimately becomes king in his turn and is the main protagonist of the story. A number of other subsidiary characters found in these three versions are also absent from the *Mahā-vibhāṣā* account. Finally, while the *Mahāvibhāṣā* knows of only two foreign kings, neither of whom is named, all three texts of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group mention a triad of kings bearing the (reconstructed Sanskrit) ethnonyms

[66] On this catalogue see Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan," *JA* 241 (1953), pp. 313-353.

[67] According to Helmut Hoffmann (*Tibet*, p. 127) it had been rendered into Tibetan even earlier, during the reign of Mes-'ag-tshom (r. 704-755 C.E.).

yavana ("Greek"), *śaka* ("Saka") and *pahlava* ("Parthian"). To this list the *Saṃyukta-āgama* alone adds a fourth king, called in Chinese *t'ou-sha-lo* 兜沙羅(< Skt. *tuṣāra* ~ *tukhāra*?), presumably to be identified with the Kushans.[68]

The presence of these ethnonyms, together with the information provided by the translation dates of the Chinese versions, allows us to determine the date of the redaction represented by the *Aśoka-avadāna* group with at least some degree of precision. Clearly this version of the story must postdate the invasions of India by the ethnic groups in question, which took place during the period 2nd c. B.C.E. - 1st c. C.E.,[69] and it must predate the earliest attested translation of the tradition into Chinese, that of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* by Guṇabhadra in 436-443 C.E. Thus the tradition represented by the texts of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group can be assigned to the period from the 2nd - 4th c. C.E.

Because the three texts in this category resemble each other so closely, their versions of the Kauśāmbī story may conveniently be discussed together. According to these texts, the story goes as follows. One thousand years after the death of the Buddha, the Dharma will be about to disappear.

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68 For this derivation see Lamotte, *HBI*, p. 221. Lamotte describes the reading *tuṣāra* as an error for *tukhāra*, though the term is given in MW 449c as a regular alternate for the latter. The presence of this obvious interpolation provides one piece of evidence that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* recension is not the oldest version of the story.

69 In contrast to the statement of Lamotte (*HBI*, p. 221) the addition of the Kushans or *tukhāra* to the list of evil kings in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* recension does not in itself require a later date than that of the other texts of this group (though the presence of an interpolation not shared by any of the other versions does prove that the *Saṃyukta* represents an independent branch, and not the root, of the other traditions). Recent research into the chronology of the Saka, Pahlava and Kushan invasions has demonstrated that the earliest Kushan incursions into northwest India and adjacent territories were contemporary with those of the Parthians, and presumably took place during the first century C.E. For details see Richard N. Frye, *History of Ancient Iran* (München: Beck, 1983), pp. 177-204 and the additional references given there.

At that time there will arise three evil kings, "Greek" in the north, "Saka" in the south, and "Parthian" in the west.[70] (Note that in all three versions these ethnonyms are understood – or misunderstood – as personal names, a characteristic feature of all the extant versions of the Kauśāmbī story.) These kings will invade India, and will persecute Buddhist believers and destroy Buddhist monuments in their path. Meanwhile a son (named Duṣprasaha, "hard to tolerate") will be born to King Mahendrasena, ruling in the east at the city of Kauśāmbī, and on the same night sons will also be born to five hundred "heads of families" (*Aśoka-avadāna*), "ministers of the king" (*Karmaśataka*), or "great ministers" (*Saṃyukta-āgama*), and a rain of blood will fall.

When the king turns to a soothsayer to learn the meaning of these mysterious omens, he is told that the young prince will grow up to conquer all of Jambudvīpa, and in so doing will kill many people. All this indeed comes to pass, and the prince conquers and kills the foreign invaders.

Meanwhile a son has been born in Pāṭaliputra to a brahman named Agnidatta; he grow up to be a great teacher called Śiṣyaka ("he who has disciples").[71] Likewise in Pāṭaliputra, a son will be born to an elder named Sudhana. The boy will be named Sūrata, and he will grow up to become a great Arhat.

Upon the death of his father, the prince (now the king) is plunged into depression and doubt. He asks the Buddhist monks when the three evil kings

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[70] To this list the *Saṃyukta* version adds *tuṣāra* or "Kushan" in the east, a direction normally reserved for the "good king" of Kauśāmbī in the other versions.

[71] The reasonably accurate transcriptions and translations of proper names given in the texts of this group allow for reliable reconstructions of the underlying Indian forms, which will therefore be given without further annotation in this section. For a complete list of the proper names found in these and other versions of the Kauśāmbī story see Appendix 1, "Proper Names in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* and Related Sources."

will destroy the Dharma,[72] and they reply that this will happen in twelve years. At this point the king resolves that he will hold a great *pañcavarṣa* feast during that entire twelve-year period. The quality of the monastic community, however, is not what it should be; the monks are impure and lazy, the texts tell us, due in part to their being accustomed to receiving large offerings. The gods, *nāgas* and other non-human beings are offended, as are the laity, of whom a group of five hundred censures the monks for their misconduct and urges them to bring their quarrels to an end.

These exhortations, however, are to no avail. When the monks gather for the *poṣadha* ceremony Śiṣyaka, the head of the saṃgha, wants to recite the monastic rules in abbreviated form. "If even I, who am the most learned of all, cannot keep the rules completely, who else can?" so he argues. But the arhat Sūrata rises to object. As in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* account, Sūrata proclaims that he does indeed keep the monastic rules to the letter, and that Śiṣyaka should therefore recite the rules in their entirety. A disciple of Śiṣyaka, named Aṅgada, is outraged at this insult to his teacher, and strikes and kills the arhat. Aṅgada is in turn killed by a yakṣa, Dadhimukha, and one or more disciples of Sūrata then kill Śiṣyaka. Then the Buddha-dharma, the texts tell us, gradually disappears.

When Duṣprasaha learns of these events, he flies into a blind rage and begins to kill monks and destroy stupas and monasteries. At this point the Buddha tells the four *lokapālas*, "The Dharma that you were assigned to protect has died out." Thus relieved of their duties, the four gods return to the heavens. And with this anticlimactic finish, the story ends.

For comparative purposes, several points in this account are worthy

[72] So the two Chinese versions (though both have previously stated that the three [or four] kings have already been killed). The Tibetan version asks simply "how long will the Dharma endure, after the destruction of the territories of the barbarian kings?"

of note. First, these three texts (like the *Mahāvibhāṣā*) give a total life-expectancy for the Dharma of one thousand years. Among the known versions of the Kauśāmbī story, then, the texts in the *Aśoka-avadāna* group belong to the group with the shortest (and presumably earliest) timetable. Second, in all three of these texts the trio of Greeks, Sakas, and Parthians appears in the lineup of "evil, non-Buddhist kings." Thus whether the original Kauśāmbī story was formulated before or after the invasions by these groups – an issue to be considered in detail below – the recension represented by the three texts in the *Aśoka-avadāna* group must certainly postdate these events. Third, as in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* account, a group of five hundred pious lay Buddhists is explicitly singled out for favorable attention. They are even given the role of admonishing the monks, in a scene reminiscent of King Aśoka's exhortations to the saṃgha to bring its internecine quarrels to an end. Finally, two features of the texts in this group appear to be unknown in other versions of the story. These are (a) the death of king Mahendrasena, which in the texts of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group provokes a period of reflection and reassessment on the part of Duṣprasaha; and (b) the final actions of the king himself, who in a fit of rage turns against the Buddhist community. Since these features appear to be restricted to the texts of this group, they serve as evidence of the affinity of these three translations with one another, on the one hand, and of the separateness of this group as a whole from other recensions of the story on the other.

A peculiar element in this account, from the point of view of the Buddhist history of the region, is the portrayal of the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians (and the Kushans as well, in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* account) as "enemies of the Dharma." The Indo-Greek ruler Menander (Pali *Milinda*) is renowned as a friendly inquirer into, and perhaps even a convert to, the

Buddhist religion, and the Kushan ruler Kanishka is widely treated in Buddhist literature as an outstanding patron of the Dharma. From Chinese sources we know that the Parthians were among the earliest Buddhist missionaries in China,[73] and from epigraphical evidence we know that many (perhaps even a majority) of the Sakas in northwest and north-central India were devoted Buddhists.[74] Why should these foreign powers, then, be treated as enemies of the faith?

There are two possible explanations for this seeming anomaly. First, all of these invaders must have caused considerable harm to the Buddhist monuments and the Buddhist population in their path during their initial incursions into Indian territory. And none, presumably, were Buddhists at the time of their original invasions. Thus a negative initial impression may have persisted long after many of the descendants of these invaders had adopted the Buddhist faith.

There is, however, another possibility. By the 2nd century C.E. (if not before) the trio of Greeks, Sakas and Pahlavas had become a standard *topos* for "non-brahmanic barbarians" in Indian literature.[75] Thus the appearance of all three names in this recension of the Kauśāmbī story does not necessarily imply that the invasions of all three groups (or, strictly speaking, of *any* of the three groups) contributed to this formulation. Rather, an

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[73] On Parthian missionaries to China see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 23, 25, 32, 33, 55, 70; and J. W. de Jong, "Buddha's Word in China" (reprinted in Gregory Schopen, ed., *Buddhist Studies: Selected Essays of J. W. de Jong* [Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1979], pp. 77-101).

[74] On Saka converts to Buddhism see Lamotte, *HBI*, pp. 537-543.

[75] Thus while the Sātavāhana ruler Vāsiṣṭhīputra (first half of the 2nd c. C.E.) claimed only that his father Gautamīputra had uprooted the Śakas (a claim which is historically well founded), an inscription by Gautamīputra's mother describes her son as rooting out the "Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas" (Romila Thapar, *A History of India,* Vol. 1 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966], pp. 101-102).

invasion by any foreign power could have been described as an incursion by the Greek-Śaka-Pahlava contingent, simply using a standard expression for foreigners.

These two possibilities have very different implications for the chronology of the text. To take the second option requires that we date the composition of the Kauśāmbī story (or at least this recension of it) to a period well after the actual invasions, if the names had by then become formulaic, and the role of each individual group only a distant memory. If we follow the former interpretation, on the other hand, we must locate the time of formulation of this tradition in the early years of these invasions (and since the Greek incursions were not simultaneous with the other two, presumably we must opt for the early years of the Parthian invasions, which overlapped with the period of Saka control).

One additional element in the texts can help us to decide between these two options. According to all three versions in the *Aśoka-avadāna* group, the Greeks are located in the north, the Parthians in the west, and the Sakas in the south, with the king of Kauśāmbī farther to the east. This piece of information is extremely valuable, for (if by Greeks the Hellenized population of Bactria is meant) these relative locations are quite correct. A writer familiar with these three powers only by hearsay, or as a distant memory, would not be likely to have placed them so accurately.[76] So the formulation of a tradition referring to these three powers as enemies of the Buddhist religion may well date from as early as the 2nd century C.E.

To say that this tradition itself may be this early, however, is not to say

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[76] In later recensions these directions are sometimes scrambled (in the Chinese translation of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* and the prose recension of the *Prediction of Kātyāyana*), or eliminated altogether (in the Tibetan and Khotanese versions of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*).

that the recensions belonging to the *Aśoka-avadāna* group are themselves that old. We can only say (on the basis of the *terminus ante quem* provided by the Chinese translations) that such recensions must have been current by the end of the 4th century at the latest. Nor are these, in fact, the oldest surviving translations of the Kauśāmbī story. Another Chinese translation, produced no later than the beginning of the 4th century and possibly as early as the later Han, is unquestionably the oldest extant recension of the story. Before attempting to narrow the chronological range of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group, then, we must examine the evidence provided by this earlier translation.

3. The *Prediction of Kātyāyana* (Verse Translation)

By far the oldest surviving version of the Kauśāmbī story is a little-known text whose title may conveniently be abbreviated as the *Prediction of Kātyāyana*,[77] rendered into Chinese during or before the Western Chin dynasty (265-316 C.E.) by a translator whose name has not been preserved.[78] This text, has been largely ignored by scholars interested in Buddhist decline theory,[79] yet both its chronological priority and several

[77] Ch. *Fo-shih pi-ch'iu Chia-chan-yen shuo fa mei-chin chi po-erh-shih chang* (T. No. 2029, 49.9c20-12c2), lit. "The Verses in 120 Sections (Concerning) the Decline and Destruction of the Dharma, Preached by the Buddha's Envoy, the *Bhikṣu* Kātyāyana." The title is rendered "Prediction *to* Kātyāyana" by Lamotte (*HBI*, p. 220), but the prophecy is clearly spoken by the monk Kātyāyana, and not by the Buddha himself. Both the form of the title and the introductory lines of the text serve to counter Lamotte's interpretation: the text is not styled a *sūtra* (*ching* 經), as one would expect if it were attributed to the Buddha, but merely a *gāthā* (*chieh* 偈), and the text begins without any trace of the expression "Thus have I heard..." that would serve to authenticate what follows as the word of the Buddha.

[78] The date of the translation is confirmed by its inclusion in Tao-an's catalogue (T. No. 2154, 502a3, b25), compiled in 374 C. E. but including only works translated into Chinese before the end of the Western Chin dynasty.

[79] The text is discussed briefly by Lamotte in his survey of Buddhist decline literature (*HBI*, p. 220) but is not mentioned except in passing in any of the other major survey articles cited in n. 1 above.

unusual features in its content require that we give it close attention.

The *Kātyāyana* prophecy relates the Kauśāmbī story as follows. At an unspecified time in the future India will be invaded by three evil kings, here associated with Rome (*ta-ch'in* 大秦),[80] Parthia (*po-lo* 撥羅),[81] and Arsacid Persia (or simply "Iran"; Ch. *an-hsi* 安息).[82] These invaders will kill monks and scholars, and destroy stūpas and monasteries. Those Buddhists who are able will flee to Madhyadeśa. The king of Madhyadeśa will then conquer and kill these invaders, and come to reside in the city of *Chien-ni* 監尼 (<< Skt. *Kauśāmbī*?).[83] The king, at the advice of his preceptor *Shih-shih* 尸師 (Skt. *Śisyaka*?),[84] will hold a great *mahādāna* feast, to which he invites all the monks of Jambudvīpa. A group "numbered in the hundreds of thousands" will assemble together, and on the 15th day (when the *prātimokṣa* is to be recited) a quarrel will break out. A large

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[80] The term *ta-ch'in* is used to refer to the Roman empire as early as the middle of the 2nd c. C.E., when it appears in the *Hou Han shu* in the record of the arrival of an envoy from Rome, who arrived in China in the 9th year of Huang-ti (166. C.E.).

[81] The Ancient Chinese pronunciation of this term was presumably something like **pat-la* (see Bernhard Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* [1923; rpt. New York: Dover, 1974], nos. 749 and 569, *pi^{w}ot-ˌlâ*), the expected Chinese rendering of an Indian or Central Asian **pat-ra*, which in turn may be a metathesis < **par-ta* "Parthian" (cf. Greek *Παρθυιοι*, Old Persian *parthava*). Note that Chinese texts (particularly those pre-dating the translations of Hsüan-tsang) tend to recast multisyllabic (especially three-syllable) proper names in the more acceptable format of a Chinese two-syllable name.

[82] The term *an-hsi* (A. Ch. *ˌ·ân-sjək*, Karlgren nos. 4, 780), though originally derived from the name of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty, continued to be used in reference to the territory of Iran as a whole long after the fall of that dynasty, much as our word "China" continues to be used more than two millennia after the demise of the Ch'in dynasty from which it was derived.

[83] A. Ch. *ˌkamʼ-ˌnji*, Karlgren nos. 376, 659. Since the modern Chinese pronunciations of many of the proper names in the *Kātyāyana* prophecy are quite distant from their presumed Indian originals, the Karlgren readings will be provided throughout this section.

[84] A. Ch. *ˌśi-ˌsi*, Karlgren nos. 878, 893.

group of *bhikṣus*, thinking themselves superior to the rest, issue a condescending statement to the effect that they understand more about the Dharma than anyone else. "If there is one *bhikṣu* who has attained enlightenment," they assert, "then *he* can preach about the origins and end (本末) [of the Dharma], and we will study his sutra[s]." Much to their dismay, however, just such a *bhikṣu* happens to be present in the audience. This monk, named *Su-lai* 須賴 (Skt. *Sūrata*?),[85] rises from his seat and proclaims that he does indeed keep the precepts, has no doubts concerning the Dharma and Vinaya, has penetrated the scriptures, and truly understands the meaning of the path. He rebukes the self-righteous monks for praising themselves so much, which arouses the anger of a student of the honored teacher (= Śiṣyaka?), named *A-ssu* 阿斯 (<< Skt. *Angada*?),[86] who then strikes and injures the Arhat. A Dharma-loving demon (sic!) then siezes a vajra and strikes and kills *A-ssu*. The earth shakes in the familiar six ways, various ill omens appear, and the ultimate fate of the Dharma is described as follows: "The lamp of the Dharma is already out. The correct scriptures are already destroyed. This time is most ruined, and the drum of the Dharma will not ring out again." The text then goes on to encourage its readers/listeners to strive vigorously in their Buddhist practice so that Buddhism will not yet die out, "remembering the great danger and fear to come." The text closes with a prediction that the Dharma will pass through three three-

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[85] A. Ch. *sju-lâiʔ*, K. nos. 839, 510. Karlgren notes that the syllable *lâiʔ* (or rather, at least one of the characters in its group) had an ancient final *-d*; the transcription of Skt. *-rat(a)* using this character would support this hypothesis. Note also that this text was translated at least two centuries earlier than the date of the dialectal materials (representing the spoken language of north China in the 6th c. C.E.) on which Karlgren's reconstructions are based.

[86] A. Ch. *·â-sie* (K. nos. 1, 816), but the second character may be an error for one of the characters listed under nos. 338 and 385.

hundred year periods: during the first three hundred years, many people will be liberated (i.e., attain *nirvāṇa*) by practicing Buddhism; during the second, people will still observe the precepts (*śīla*) and practice meditation, but the implication is that their level of accomplishment will be far lower than before; and during the third, they will (only) repair Buddhist temples. When a full one thousand years have elapsed, there will be "anger and fighting"; presumably it is at this time that the Dharma will finally disappear.

The *Prediction of Kātyāyana* differs from the texts discussed above in a number of respects. First, it is cast entirely in verse, in contrast to the prose rendition of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the mixed prose and verse of the *Aśoka-avadāna* texts. Second, as in two of the *Aśoka-avadāna* texts we now have three non-Buddhist kings, not two; but their names – somewhat surprisingly – are associated with the Hellenistic world, not with India or its border regions. The names of the two leading monastic figures appear to be the same (that is, the Chinese transcriptions are arguably valid representations of the Sanskrit names Śiṣyaka and Sūrata), but their roles have been altered: now Śiṣyaka is not the self-righteous monastic leader, but simply the king's loyal preceptor, who encourages him to call the *mahādāna* feast, and the role of the self-righteous revisionists is now assigned to an anonymous group of bhikṣus. Sūrata's part, however, remains unchanged: once again he challenges the suggestion that the level of attainment (here framed in terms of the attainment of enlightenment, rather than the keeping of the precepts) is as low as the more complacent monks would imply.

This text is clearly more detailed in a number of respects than is the account given in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*. Yet more striking than the individual elaborations of detail are the numerous divergences from an Indocentric perspective. While references to identifiable Indian locations are

conspicuous by their absence – the only concrete Indian geographical term, other than the city of *Chien-ni* (whose identity is obscure at best), is *Madhyadeśa* – the three foreign kings are clearly identifiable, and are all associated not with India, but with the greater Hellenistic world. Who then would have composed such a text, describing these three powers as the primary enemies of the Dharma?

Here the geographical indications given in the text provide an important clue. The three foreign powers are described as "Rome in the front, Parthia in the rear, and the Arsacids (or simply 'Iran') in the center" (T. 49.11b12-13). It is important to note, first of all, that these three foreign powers have been assigned to geographically correct relative positions: if Rome is seen as in the "front," then it is correct to describe Iran as being in the center, and the territory of Parthia (comprising the easternmost segment of Iran) as in the rear. Were this not a Buddhist text, our first guess might be that the author was situated somewhere to the west of Rome, facing all three territories, with Rome in the front. The difficulties in placing a Buddhist writer to the west of Rome, however, are evident, and during much of the period with which we are concerned even the westernmost parts of Europe would have been under Roman control.

The most obvious location for the composition of a Buddhist text, of course, would be either in India properly speaking or in one of its north-western border regions (including Gandhara, Kashmir, and Arachosia). But the geographical indications in this text (even aside from the paucity of Indian references) certainly do not encourage this interpretation. Surely an Indian writer would have described Parthia (his nearest neighbor of the three) as being in the "front," not the "rear," with Rome (a power known only at a distance) pictured as farthest in the background. Equally unlikely,

perhaps, is the possibility that an Indian composer writing during or slightly before the time of the Western Chin dynasty (that is, c. 1st-3rd c. C.E.) would refer to Rome, Iran, and the Parthians as the "evil kings" threatening his country, choosing only the Parthians from the list of those foreign powers who actually had overrun his country in recent memory – the Greeks, Sakas, and Parthians, who figure prominently in several other recensions of the Kauśāmbī story.

Who, then, would have portrayed Rome, Iran, and Parthia as the primary enemies of the Dharma, and would have arranged them with Rome in the vanguard and with the Parthians bringing up the rear? It is too early to offer a definitive resolution of this question, but a hypothesis at least is in order. The possibilities are fairly limited: having eliminated both western Europe and India, we are left only with the possibilities of a Central Asian or a Chinese redactor. We can eliminate the latter by virtue of distance alone: references to "barbarians" in Chinese literature abound, but there were plenty of non-Chinese antagonists much closer at hand than Rome, Iran, and the Parthians. The Central Asian possibility is thus considerably more promising. From a Central Asian perspective, though, one can picture Rome as being in the "front" only if one is standing *behind* the Parthians (that is, directly to their east), *and is oriented toward the West.* If one sees oneself as standing in the center of one's own cultural world (as a Chinese writer, as well as an Indian one, would surely have done), the nearest neighbor will naturally be described as being "in front." For someone with an "outpost mentality," by contrast, the world may well be perceived as oriented around a territory far away – the center, wherever that might be, of one's own cultural identity.

At least one region in western Central Asia conforms to these

specifications exactly. For the ruling elite of Bactria – long the most distant outpost of Hellenistic civilization in Central Asia – the center of the cultural world was clearly located far to the west, in the homeland of their own Greek language, pre-Buddhist religion, and Hellenistic culture. And the Parthians, located immediately to the west of the Bactrians, were both their nearest neighbors and a feared and respected opponent. Thus the identification of the three evil kings with Rome, Iran, and Parthia would be perfectly logical from a Bactrian point of view.

One other feature in this text may lend additional support to the Bactrian hypothesis. In no other version of the Kauśāmbī story do we find this decline prophecy associated with a timetable consisting of three periods of three hundred years each (or for that matter, with three periods of *any* length). While the *Kātyāyana* prophecy does maintain a total figure of one thousand years (a number frequently found in other versions of the Kauśāmbī story, including that of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, and which may well have been associated with this tradition from the outset), the three-part time scheme is only tenuously associated with this figure, and gives the impression of having been superimposed upon it. What we may have here, then, is an extraneous and perhaps local time scheme, based on three symmetrical time periods, which has only with some effort been brought into conformity with the "received tradition" of a total of one thousand years.[87]

[87] Though the antecedents of such a time scheme are not immediately evident, other religions in the region offer some intriguing parallels. In Zoroastrian mythology we find an eschatological system based on four periods of 3,000 years each, within which the last such period (beginning from the time of Zoroaster himself) is sub-divided into three equal periods of 1,000 years each (see *ERE*, vol. 5, p. 376). This is hardly an exact parallel to the scheme offered in the Kātyāyana prophecy, but it at least offers examples both of a chronological system based on three equal periods and of a scheme in which the number 3 plays an important role. In the Manichaean religion the idea of three time periods (consisting of the age of primordial separation between light and darkness, the age of their mixture, in which partisans of the two forces battle for control, and the final age of their re-separation) played a central role (*ER*, vol. 9, p. 162). The Manichaean example is of

A reasonable hypothesis, then, would treat the *Prediction of Kātyāyana* as a Bactrian redaction of an originally Indian tradition. Such a scenario, of course, would require the presence of Buddhist Bactrians capable of producing such a text at the time with which we are concerned. But the presence of Buddhists in Bactria during this period is not at all problematic. By this time this region had already been incorporated into the Kushan empire[88] and both cultural and religious influences from India were being rapidly assimilated. Thus the idea that a Buddhist text concerning the decline of the Dharma, originally composed in India, could have found its way to Bactria and been subject to revision there is entirely reasonable.

But I have argued here only for the redaction of the text, and not its original composition, in Bactria. Could we not go farther and argue for its composition here as well? The hypothesis is attractive, but it can be entertained only with serious reservations. First, it is important to note that of all extant versions of the Kauśāmbī story *only* the Kātyāyana prophecy associates the "three evil kings" with Rome, Iran and Parthia. By far the majority of the versions of this tale associate them instead with the Greeks (*yavana*), Sakas (*śaka*), and Parthians (*pahlava*) – all groups known to have invaded northwest India in historic times. Thus if we assume that the Kātyāyana version of the prophecy is the original, we must explain why not a single one of the other surviving versions of the tale reproduces this original list of ethnic names.

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course too late to have influenced the *Kātyāyana* prophecy directly, but it does demonstrate that such ideas were circulating in the territory of greater Iran during the 3rd c. C.E., where they might have been adopted by both Mani and the Bactrian Buddhists. No appropriate analogies are found in the Hindu system, which consists of four ages (*yuga*) of generally unspecified, but unequal, length, or in any other religious system known to have existed in this region at the time.

[88] See R. N. Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, pp. 252-254.

The question is really a dual one: first, which group – the Bactrians or the Indians – would more likely have had a motive to produce a tale like the Kauśāmbī story in the first place? And second – since the earliest versions of this tradition containing identifiable ethnic names associate the three kings with *either* the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians *or* with Rome, Iran, and Parthia – which side would have had the more convincing reasons to convert the other's list into its own? To deal with the first question at this point is to get a bit ahead of our story, but we may briefly observe that the Kauśāmbī story appears to be a response to the actual experience of foreign invasions, during which numerous Buddhist believers were killed, Buddhist establishments devastated, and the validity of the Buddhist religion itself perhaps called into question. Bactrian Buddhists were certainly subjected to such events in later times, most notably during Hephthalite incursions which culminated in the conquest of Bactria and adjacent regions during the 5th century, and again during the Arab invasions of the 7th century. In the period with which we are concerned, however, there is no evidence of such events taking place. Thus a Bactrian Buddhist writer in the first centuries C.E. would lack any apparent motive for producing a composition of this kind.

His Indian counterparts, by contrast – at least those living in the far northwest – would have experienced some three centuries of continual invasions by just those powers described in the majority of versions of the story: the Greeks, Sakas, and Parthians. And we should note that *every* version of the Kauśāmbī story describes these invasions as threatening India, not Bactria (or any other region). Thus a motive for composition is easier to establish on the Indian side than on the Bactrian one.

As to a motive for the emendation of an existing tradition, however,

precisely the reverse is the case. While an Indian reader might have found it convenient to change the ethnic names from Rome, Iran and Parthia (if these were the originals) to those of actual invaders with which he was more familiar, for a Bactrian recipient of a text describing the "evil kings" as Greeks, Sakas and Parthians, an emendation would have been a necessity, not a luxury. For among the inhabitants of Bactria were many who saw their own ethnic identity as being either Greek (dating from the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great in the mid-4th c. B.C.E.) or Saka (dating from the Saka incursions during the late 2nd c. B.C.E.). While the Parthians – long seen as an enemy by the Bactrians – could easily be accepted as one of the "evil powers" threatening the Dharma, the inclusion of the Greeks and the Sakas among their ranks would clearly have been unacceptable.

It is precisely such an emendation that we find in the *Prediction of Kātyāyana.* While the Parthians alone are carried over from the "Indian" list, the Greeks and the Sakas (with whom much of the population of Bactria would have identified themselves) are eliminated, replaced by other foreign (and at least potentially threatening) powers, namely Iran and Rome

Though the Kātyāyana prophecy may thus be considered a secondary derivative of an originally Indian tradition, it is uniquely valuable both as evidence of the reception and adaptation of that tradition in Central Asia and as evidence of the date of the tradition. As the earliest extant translation of the Kauśāmbī story into Chinese, the Kātyāyana prophecy can provide us with an important *terminus ante quem*: it offers definitive proof that the main features of the Kauśāmbī story – the tale of a conflict within the saṃgha brought about by an invasion of "evil kings" and resulting in the final extinction of the Dharma – was already in circulation before the end of the

Western Chin dynasty (316 C.E.). Thus the historical circumstances that first led to the formulation of this tradition must be sought in a period *prior* to that date – in other words, at a time well before the beginning of the Gupta period (c. 300-550 C.E.) in India.

4. The *Prediction of Kātyāyana* (Prose Translation)

Another text found in the Chinese canon carries a title similar to the one just discussed, but is executed entirely in prose. This text, produced during the period 420-479 by a translator whose name has not been preserved,[89] is closer in content to the verse translation of the *Kātyāyana* prophecy than to any other version of the Kauśāmbī story, yet it exhibits a number of revealing divergences.

The text opens with a lengthy introduction, consisting mainly of a diatribe against Buddhist monks who become involved in worldly affairs, and then moves on to a brief and rather garbled account of the final disappearance of the Dharma. Though the text (or its antecedent) must once have contained a list of three foreign kings, only certain elements of the list have been preserved. The text refers to a group of three kings (here styled *t'ien-tzu*, "sons of heaven"): a king named *Yeh-lai-na* 耶來那[90] (<< Skt. *yavana*?), in the south near Madhyadeśa; a second king, who is not named, in northern *Chin-t'u* 晋土 [91] (<< Skt. *Sindhu* "Indus [River]"?); and a third, named *Chien-chiu* 揵秋,[92] whose location is not specified. These three

[89] T. No. 2028 (49.7a17-9c14), titled *Chia-ting pi-ch'iu shuo tang-lai pien ching*, lit. "The Sutra (Concerning) Future Transformations, Preached by the *Bhikṣu* Kātyāyana."

[90] A. Ch. *ˌja-lâi-ˊnâˀ* (Karlgren nos. 226, 511, 647). The second character in this name (presumably for Sanskrit *-va-*) has not been adequately explained.

[91] A. Ch. *tsi̯ĕnˋ-ˊtʻuo* (Karlgren nos. 1079, 1129).

[92] A. Ch. *ˊg'i̯onˋ-ts'i̯əu* (Karlgren nos. 373, 1088); for the first character in this name see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," n. 10.

will appear in *Chin*晉 , and will kill the common people, destroy Buddhist monuments, and belittle monks. They will also lead armies into India (天竺). At this time the king of Madhyadeśa will raise an army to destroy *Chin-t'u*, and its ministers and people will return to their native place (本土). At that time the monks of *Chin-t'u* will suffer from difficulties caused by officials; some will die, some will be laicized, and some will set out towards India (天竺). The king of Madhyadeśa, who venerates the Buddhist saṃgha, will donate everything to the monks, and when he sees some of them breaking the precepts, he will admonish them. An elder monk named *Shih-i-chi* 尸依仇 (<< Skt. Śiṣyaka?)[93] will preach the Dharma for the king, and the king, overjoyed, will invite all the saṃgha to Kauśāmbī. Some 100,000 will arrive in Kauśāmbī for the final assembly.

When they assemble there, they will begin to ask one another about the fate of their teachers. When they discover that many have been killed or fallen sick along the way, they will all lament together. On the 15th day, during the reading of the 250 precepts, the monks will behave chaotically, and will be admonished by Śiṣyaka. Another monk, who had profoundly entered into meditation (and who is not named), then calls on the community to listen to his preaching. (Note that this character is an "extra," not represented in any other version of the Kauśāmbī story.) A monk named *Su-t'o-liu* 須陀流 (<< Sūrata?),[94] who has become an arhat, then rises from his seat, sounds forth the lion's roar, and proclaims that he will preach the sutras. A disciple of the elder (the latter presumably to be identified with

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93 A. Ch. *śi-ei-g'iəu* (Karlgren nos. 878, 185, 399). If the name is indeed intended to represent Sanskrit *Śiṣyaka* it has become quite garbled in transmission.

94 A. Ch. *sju-d'a-liəu* (Karlgren nos. 839, 1011, 564), < **sutara*, metathesis < **surata*, < Skt. *Sūrata*? (Note that the *Aśoka-avadāna* exhibits the same feature in this name; see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 7.)

Ṣiṣyaka), named "Upper Head" (上頭),[95] rises from his seat and contends with the arhat; he then takes a metal implement and kills Sūrata. "Upper Head," in turn, is killed by a Buddha-believing *yakṣa*, who takes an iron vajra and strikes him. The earth shakes in six ways, various evil omens appear, and all sentient beings realize that the Dharma is about to disappear. Various classes of sentient beings bewail the loss of the Dharma, while the assembly of demons and the followers of heterodox teachings will rejoice.

The monk Kātyāyana then tells his followers: "Thus will be the future evil transformations. Because the Buddha-dharma continues today, as of old, you should be diligent and practice in it." Making effort now will eliminate future remorse. The teaching is sincerely received by his listeners, and the sutra comes to a close.

Several things are noteworthy about this account. First is simply the garbled state in which it has reached us: some personal names are missing, others are only faintly recognizable, while still others appear in forms that are quite incomprehensible. Indeed the most coherent portion of this sutra is not the Kauśāmbī story itself, but the long introduction (comprising over 50% of the text) decrying the evil practices of the monks. A second notable feature is the dominance of distinctively Chinese terminology: here the three evil kings are not styled *wang* 王, or simply "king," as is usual in other versions of the story, but *t'ien-tzu* 天子, or "son of Heaven." The reference (apparently) to northwest India as *Chin-t'u* 晉土, with the first character representing the name of a Chinese dynasty and the second capable of being translated simply as "territory," raises the question of contamination by (or

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[95] It is possible that this name (A. Ch. *ˊźiangˀ-dˊəu*, Karlgren nos. 865, 1015) was originally a transcription of Skt. *Aṅgada*. If so, however, it has undergone considerable mutilation in transmission.

transference to) a Chinese geographical outlook.[96] Third, the reference to the reading of the "250 precepts" (which occurs twice in the text)[97] enables us to identify the sectarian affiliation of this recension: while the extant versions of the Buddhist monastic code (preserved in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan) contain anywhere from 215 to 263 rules of conduct, the Chinese Dharmaguptaka version alone consists of 250 rules.[98] Since this version was the one most commonly used in China,[99] this again points to the possibility of a Chinese locus for the final recension of this version of the story.

A final anomalous feature of this translation is the absence of any reference at all to the overall duration of the Dharma. While, as we have already noted, the Kauśāmbī story is not "bound" to any specific timetable, it is virtually always associated with *some* chronological figure. In fact, in every other version of the story examined here (with the exception of what we will refer to as "late Khotanese adaptations") the Kauśāmbī story occurs in conjunction with a specific figure for the total duration of the Dharma. The absence of such a figure from the prose translation of the *Kātyāyana* prophecy thus constitutes a notable divergence from the usual format, and serves to reinforce the general impression that the Kauśāmbī story given

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[96] Note that in one instance (9.8c27) the character *chin* is used alone, without the character *t'u* "earth," suggesting that the word *chin* was understood as a place name in and of itself. Likewise the use of same character *chin* in the gloss of Sūrata's name (晉言曰善, "in the *Chin* language, 'good' ", T. 49.9a23) suggests that these geographic references may have been understood as referring to China, not India.

[97] T. 49.9a15, b11.

[98] See W. Pachow, *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa* (Santiniketan: Sino-Indian Cultural Society, 1955), p. 11.

[99] See Takasaki Jikido, *Introduction to Buddhism*, trans. Rolf W. Giebel (Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 1987), p. 288.

here is only a residual version of the original tale.

Finally, it is important to note that the prose version of the *Kātyāyana* prophecy – though it represents a garbled version of the tradition and thus may be considered a rather distant derivative of the "original" Kauśāmbī story – still preserves the version of the plot found in the verse translation of the same text, a factor which will be of some importance in reconstruction the chain of textual transmission.[100]

5. The *Mahāmāyā-sūtra*

Not mentioned in Lamotte's survey of versions of the Kauśāmbī story, but cited in this connection by both Przyluski and Kajiyama, is another brief summary version, this time spoken by Ānanda in reply to a request by the Buddha's mother, Mahāmāyā.[101] This text is best known not for its rendering of the Kauśāmbī story but for its 1,500-year timetable for the total duration of the Dharma, which includes predictions of the appearances of such famous figures as Aśvaghoṣa (six centuries after the death of the Buddha) and Nāgārjuna (a century later).

The *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* is peculiar in that its version of the Kauśāmbī story includes no proper names at all; only the titles or official roles of its main characters are indicated. The story is given as follows. Fifteen hundred years after the death of the Buddha, in Kauśāmbī there will be a *tripiṭaka* monk (presumably to be identified with Śiṣyaka) who will preach the essentials of the Dharma; he will have five hundred followers. Likewise there will be an arhat-monk (again not named, but following the pattern of

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[100] See below, p. 107ff.

[101] *Mo-ho-mo-yeh ching*, T. No. 383 (12.1013b14-1014a20), translated by T'an-ching during the period 479-502 C.E.

Sūrata in the other texts) who will maintain the practice of the precepts, and will also have five hundred followers. At the *poṣadha* ceremony on the 15th day of the month, the arhat-monk will ascend a high seat and preach the pure Dharma, saying "This you should do, this you should not." A disciple of the tripiṭaka-master will take offense at this, and will ask the arhat why he preaches "such coarse words." The arhat replies that he does indeed maintain purity of body, speech and mind without error. At this the disciple becomes even more outraged, and ascends the platform and kills the arhat. A disciple of the arhat rises to defend his teacher's reputation, and takes a sharp knife and kills the *tripiṭaka* master (*sic*; one would have expected him rather to have attacked the murderer of the arhat). The eight categories of sentient beings (gods, *nāgas* and the rest) will be troubled, but the demons and heretics will be overjoyed, and will compete with one another to destroy stupas and monasteries and kill monks. The scriptures will all flow to Kuśinagara, and a *nāga* king will carry them into the ocean. And at this, the Buddha-dharma will become extinct.

This brief account is clearly only a residual version of the tradition; the dynamics of the interaction between Śiṣyaka and Sūrata (as they are called in the other versions) are not at all clear, and the killing of the *tripiṭaka* master (rather than his disciple) appears senseless without sufficient background information. So little detail is contained in this recension of the story, in fact, that it is not even possible to determine with any certainty its relation to the other Kauśāmbī accounts. Only one feature of the story is at all distinctive: the events at Kauśāmbī are now expected to occur 1,500 years – not 1,000 years, as in all the versions discussed above except the prose *Kātyāyana* text, which gives no date – after the death of the Buddha. We have now moved beyond the 1,000-year time-span for the first time, and

it is probably significant that this text was translated into Chinese nearly 1,000 years after the death of the Buddha.[102]

Finally, in the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* we have also encountered for the first time a Mahāyāna recension of the Kauśāmbī story. Though no Mahāyāna themes have been introduced into the plotline of the Kauśāmbī story itself, the references in the preceding section to figures such as Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna[103] make it clear that we have here to do with a Mahāyāna version of the Kauśāmbī tradition.[104]

6. The *Candragarbha-sūtra* Group

We now come to the group of texts that will form the main subject of this thesis. Though the *Candragarbha-sūtra* was translated into Chinese later than any of the texts discussed above except the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, it was to become by far the most influential decline prophecy in East Asia, cited at length and in passing by countless commentators in China, Korea, and Japan.[105] Likewise in Tibet this text was considered to be a major source of information on the ultimate fate of Buddhism, and was quoted almost in full

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[102] For a discussion of the significance of the transition from 1,000 years to more extended figures see above, pp. 13-14.

[103] T. 12.1013c7-8.

[104] On the non-Mahāyāna origins of the Kauśāmbī story see below, pp. 110-112.

[105] In China the *Candragarbha-sūtra* was used by the Pure Land patriarch Tao-ch'o to bolster his arguments that in an age of decline only devotion to the Buddha Amitābha could offer any hope of salvation (e.g. T. 47.13c8-11; see David W. Chappell, "Tao-ch'o (562-645), A Pioneer of Chinese Pure Land Buddhism," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1976). Likewise, his contemporary Hsin-hsing (540-594) relied on the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in his exposition of the general concept of decline, and made this concept the basis of his "Sect of the Three Stages" (see Yabuki Keiki, *Sangaikyō no kenkyu* [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1927], and James B. Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Period of the Dharma: The Inexhaustible Storehouse of the San-chieh-chiao* (Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1986). The sūtra was also important (though perhaps less central) to a number of commentators in the T'ien-t'ai and San-lun schools. In Japan references to the *Candragarbha* appear frequently in the works of the Pure Land teachers Hōnen and Shinran and are central to the reasoning of Nichiren (who in this respect drew on his Tendai heritage) as well.

by the great 14th-century historian, Bu-ston, in his *History of Buddhism* (Tib. *Chos-'byung*).[106] Finally, its popularity in the Tarim Basin area is attested by its inclusion in the so-called *Book of Zambasta*, a poetic anthology (recast in the Khotanese vernacular) of some of the most popular Buddhist scriptures in early 8th-century Khotan.[107] Unlike some of the other decline prophecies discussed above, then, which were preserved but largely ignored by Chinese and Tibetan Buddhists (and whose value is thus largely restricted to helping us reconstruct the ancestry and development of the Kauśāmbī story), the *Candragarbha-sūtra* enjoyed considerable popularity in its own right in both Central and East Asia, and helped to shape the worldview of scholars and ordinary Buddhists alike.

Four versions of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* have survived down to the present, of which the Tibetan and Mongolian versions will be the major object of investigation here. As with the texts of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group, however, these two versions (of which the Mongolian is a direct translation from the Tibetan) cannot be understood in isolation, for they are closely related to the Chinese and Khotanese recensions as well.

The texts included in this group are the following:

1. ***Candragarbha-sūtra*** (Chinese): T. No. 397 (13.374c-381c). According to its colophon, the text was translated into Chinese by the Indian teacher Narendrayaśas in 566 C.E.[108] In the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon the Kauśāmbī story comprises part of the 20th chapter (*Fa mieh-chin p'in* 法滅盡品, "Chapter [on the] Complete Destruction of the Dharma")

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[106] See E. Obermiller, trans., *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston* (Heidelberg: Harrassowitz, 1931-3), Part 2, pp. 171-177.

[107] Emmerick, *Zambasta*, pp. 368-423.

[108] T. 13.298ff.

of the 15th (or *Candragarbha*) section (*Yüeh-tsang fen* 月藏分) of the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* (*Ta-chi ching* 大集經). The entire *Candragarbhasūtra*, however (together with a companion work titled the *Sūrya-garbha-sūtra*, Ch. *Jih-tsang fen* 日藏分 , and two other short texts) was translated separately by Narendrayaśas, and only subsequently (in 586 according to Tao-hsüan[109]) incorporated into the prexeisting Chinese translation of the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*. Thus it is likely that the text of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* brought to China by Narendrayaśas – like the much shorter Tibetan version of its "decline of the Dharma" section alone – originally circulated as an independent work.[110]

2. ***Book of Zambasta*** (Khotanese): The so-called *Book of Zambasta*,[111] of which the Khotanese version of the Kauśāmbī story comprises a portion of the 24th chapter,[112] carries no colophon as such (aside from various remarks

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109 T. 50.434b.

110 No integral translation of the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* is included in the Tibetan Kanjur. At least four separate texts, however (in addition to the *Candragarbha-sūtra* itself), are identified as excerpts from that text: the *Ārya-mahāsannipāta*[*sic*]*-ratna-ketu-dhāraṇī-nāma-mahāyana-sūtra* (Peking No. 806; cf. T. 397[9]); the *Tathāgata-śrī-samaya-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (Peking No. 896; cf. T. 397[16]); the *Daśacakra-kṣitigarbha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (Peking No. 905); and the *Ārya-sūrya-garbha-nāma-vaipulya-sūtra* (Peking No. 923; cf. T. 397[14] and [13], and note that the chapter titles of the Tibetan indicate a closer parallel with [14]). Of these only the *Daśacakra-kṣitigarbha*, translated by Ho-zhang zab-mo, R̄nam-par mi-rtog et al., is identified in its colophon as having been translated into Tibetan from the Chinese; strangely, however, it does not seem to parallel any of the material in the extant Chinese *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra*, but is rather the proper equivalent of T. Nos. 410 and 411 (of which No. 411, translated in 651 C.E. by Hsüan-tsang, offers the closer parallel to the Tibetan [Masatoshi Nagatomi: personal communication, 1986]).

111 The text itself carries no title, but was assigned this name by Sir H. W. Bailey on the basis of the name of the official who commissioned the text, a certain *Ysaṃbasta* (Emmerick, *Zambasta*, p. vii).

112 According to Emmerick (*Zambasta*, p. 369) only about half of the chapter is extant. Much of the missing material belonged to the first part of the chapter, which contained an account of the early life of the Buddha (unrelated to the Candragarbha tale); a significant gap toward the end of the chapter (folios 429-438, containing verses 522-641), however, may well have contained a continuation of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*.

by the composer interspersed between certain of its chapters). A rough estimate of the date of its composition can be made, however, on internal grounds: the language and orthography of the *Book of Zambasta* clearly belong to the oldest layer of Khotanese literature,[113] which would point to a date of composition around the beginning of the 8th century.[114] It is important to note that this work is technically an original Khotanese composition and not a translation as such; the entire *Book of Zambasta*, in fact, consists of a poetic recasting in the Khotanese vernacular of a number of Indian Buddhist works. According to a precious bit of information contained in a remark by its composer, the *Book of Zambasta* may well represent the first serious attempt to render the Buddhist literary heritage into the everyday spoken language of Khotan.[115]

3. ***Candragarbha-pariprcchā-sūtra*** (Tibetan): a translation entirely in prose, lacking a colophon but preserved in a manuscript found at Tun-huang[116] as well as in the printed versions of the Kanjur (Peking No.

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[113] Emmerick, *Zambasta*, p. vii.

[114] R. E. Emmerick, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3(2), ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 964.

[115] The composer's remarks appear at the beginning of the 23rd chapter, where he states: "I intend to translate it into Khotanese for the welfare of all beings, this tale of how the *deva* Buddha descended from the *trāyastriṃsa*-gods. ... But such are their deeds: the Khotanese do not value the Law at all in Khotanese. They understand it badly in Indian. In Khotanese it does not seem to them to be the Law. For the Chinese the Law is in Chinese. In Kashmirian it is very agreeable, but they so learn it in Kashmirian that they also understand the meaning of it. To the Khotanese that seems to be the Law whose meaning they do not understand at all. ... In words the essential thing is the meaning. ... The meaning being unperceived, no one would escape from woes in *saṃsāra*" (Emmerick, *op. cit.*, pp. 343- 345). The "Kashmirian" language to which the composer refers is almost certainly Sanskrit (the language from which most of the later Khotanese Buddhist works were apparently translated, the earlier tradition having been based on Prakrit texts). The composer is clearly suggesting that the Khotanese should abandon their tradition of reading Buddhist texts only in their Indian versions, and follow instead the example of the Chinese, who had long been rendering the Buddhist scriptures into their own vernacular.

[116] Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 185 (text no. 601.1).

1025, Derge No. 356, Cone No. 995, Narthang No. 343, Lhasa No. 634), and thus dating to sometime prior to the sealing of the Tun-huang caves around 1000 C.E.[117] The corresponding Mongolian version (which parallels the Tibetan almost verbatim) is Ligeti No. 1120 (vol. 92, *eldeb* 33, pp. 298v-305r).[118] The Mongolian text, like the Tibetan from which it was translated, carries no colophon, but the translation can be attributed (at least in its existing recension) to the late 16th - early 17th century.[119]

In addition to these four versions, a small fragment of a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* was discovered in Chinese Turkestan early in this century.[120] This fragment, however, comes from a part of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* outside the "decline-of-the-Dharma" section, and thus does not parallel any of the material to be discussed here. It does correspond to a section of the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra*, however, and demonstrates that at least a part of that text once existed in Sanskrit.

The justification for treating these four recensions as a group comes as much from their sharing a common title (with the exception of the Khotanese version, which carries no title at all) as from their content, for they are not

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117 For further details concerning the Tibetan and Mongolian texts see the introduction to Chapters 2 and 3.

118 L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur mongole imprîmé*, Vol. I, *Catalogue* (Budapest: Société Kőrösi Csoma, 1942-44), p. 302.

119 For a discussion of the date of the text see the introduction to Chapter 3.

120 See the transcription and translation in A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Chinese Turkestan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), pp. 103-108. The fragment in question was identified by K. Watanabe as corresponding to part of the Chinese version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, though no information on *which* section was included in the material published by Hoernle. The relevant Chinese passage was recently located by Judith M. Boltz, who found that Hoernle's Sanskrit fragment corresponds to T. 13.306a15-c1 (personal communication, 1987). The passage does not parallel any of the material in the Tibetan, Mongolian, or Khotanese versions of the text.

nearly as close to one another as are the texts of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group. Nonetheless, there is evidence that all are descended from a common (though distant) ancestor, and part of the objective of this section will be to elucidate the nature of this relationship. The complexity of this relationship can be illustrated by even a perfunctory survey of the basic features of these four texts (or rather, of the first three versions; since the Mongolian is a verbatim translation from the Tibetan, it will not be dealt with separately here). Beginning with the style of composition, we may note that the Khotanese version is entirely in verse, the Chinese version almost entirely in verse, and the Tibetan entirely in prose. The bodhisattva Candragarbha is mentioned in the title and as an interlocutor within the text in the Chinese and Tibetan versions, but not in the Khotanese. The Khotanese and Chinese versions agree in allotting a 1,500-year lifespan to the Dharma,[122] while the Tibetan text has a 2,000-year timetable; the Khotanese and the Tibetan share certain peculiar spellings of proper names, however, which serve as conclusive proof that these two versions are derived (albeit at a considerable distance) from a common ancestor. While the Chinese and Khotanese versions of the story contain several minor Mahāyāna elements (none, however, common to both recensions), the Tibetan version – like all the texts discussed above except the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* – contains no Mahāyāna elements whatsoever. Finally, the Chinese alone has preserved not only the "decline of the Dharma" section of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, but (apparently) the text as a whole. The other nineteen chapters of the Chinese *Candragarbha* text contain material on a wide variety of topics, including an enumeration of various localities in India,

[122] Note however that the Chinese text gives a figure of 2,500 years in a previous section (13.363a29-b5).

Central Asia and China which first attracted the attention of Sylvain Lévi several decades ago.[123]

In general the content of these three versions of the Kauśāmbī story is similar enough to allow them to be summarized together. The introductory sections, however, are quite distinct, and thus will be treated separately. In the Tibetan version[124] the text begins with the Buddha entrusting the Dharma to the four directional gods (*lokapālas*) for protection after his death. The bodhisattva Candragarbha – a character unknown in any of the versions of the Kauśāmbī story discussed above, but found also in the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* – then asks the Buddha when and how his teachings will finally disappear. The Buddha responds that the Dharma will last for 2,000 years, a total subdivided into four five-hundred-year periods. During the first five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, people will still be able to put the Buddha's teachings into practice, and to achieve liberation (that is, enlightenment) by doing so. During the second five hundred years, however, they will gradually become less diligent in practice and less faithful in belief, and the number of those who are able to attain the goal of final liberation will diminish. During the third five-hundred-year period, conditions will become even worse: there will be many who expound the Buddha's teachings, but people will only listen to them passively, and will not take the teachings to heart. The final five-hundred-year period is subdivided into a former period of three hundred years (during which the protective deities who had

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123 Sylvain Lévi, "Notes chinoises sur l'Inde, V. Quelques documents sur le bouddhisme indien dans l'Asie Centrale (Première partie)," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 5 (1905), pp. 262-284 (with reference to parts of chapters 17, 18 and 19 of the *Yüeh-tsang-fen* or "Candragarbha Section").

124 The plot summary given here is based solely on the Tun-huang manuscript, since it is clearly the oldest version of the Tibetan text. Later xylograph editions deviate from this version in a number of respects; for a discussion of these differences see the notes to the Tibetan version.

previously guarded the fortunes of Buddhism will depart from this world in disgust, abandoning its inhabitants to an onslaught of illness, famine and warfare) and a latter period of two hundred years (during which even the monks will cease to conduct themselves in accordance with the Dharma, and will begin to engage instead in a variety of worldly activities). It is at this point that the Tibetan version begins to relate the familiar Kauśāmbī story.

The Chinese version contains an entirely different introduction. The bodhisattva Candragarbha first recites a verse in which the Buddha commissions a group of *yakṣas* (not, as in the Tibetan version, the *lokapālas*) to protect his teachings after his death. Thereupon another bodhisattva, named "Moon-Lamp" 月燈 (*Candrapradīpa* ?), asks the Buddha *not* how long the Dharma will endure, but how people can use skillful means to prolong its existence. In reply the Buddha states that one hundred years after his death the Dharma will gradually decline and disappear.[125] He then delivers a long discourse on the evil actions of future sentient beings, aimed mainly at the misconduct of Buddhist monks (who are more concerned with worldly success than with religious achievement), *kṣatriya* rulers (who are accused both of cooperating with these decadent monks and of interfering with them by imposing punishment on those who do not maintain the precepts), and *caṇḍāla* rulers (who will conspire with evil monks to turn out their own version of the Buddhist teachings). Only at this point does the Chinese text

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[125] T. 13.375c4. No similar statement occurs at this point in the Tibetan or Khotanese version, but cf. the texts of the *Aśoka-avadāna* group, which state that the events at Kauśāmbī will take place one thousand years after the death of the Buddha (for the Chinese versions see T. 2.179a.24 and 50.126b26; for the Tibetan see the Derge edition, vol. 73, mdo ཧ་, 267a:5). It is possible that the one-hundred-year figure given in the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* is the result of a copying error (in Sanskrit or Prākrit, where one of the terms for "thousand" is *daśaśataṃ* "ten hundreds" [Apte 468a]) for an original figure of one thousand years.

turn to its own version of the Kauśāmbī story.[126]

The virtually total dissimilarity between the introductions to the Tibetan and Chinese texts suggests that these portions of the texts, at least, are the products of entirely separate processes of redaction – an impression which is heightened by the fact that the Khotanese text (which shares numerous similarities with these two versions in other respects) contains no such introductory section whatsoever.[127] Likewise in the closing sections we find similar divergences among the three versions in this group. The core of the text, however – that is, the Kauśāmbī story itself – is reasonably constant in all three recensions. We may therefore review these three versions together, noting important divergences when they arise.

As in all the versions of the story discussed above except the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, the story begins with the appearance of three evil kings. The Tibetan and Khotanese versions agree in calling them Greeks (Tib. *ya-bha-na*, Khot. *yavanā*), Sakas (Tib. *shag-ku-na*, Khot. *śśakaunā*)[128] and Parthians (Tib. *pa-la-ba*, Khot. *palvalā*), while the Chinese text labels them Parthians

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[126] T. 13.377bff.

[127] The Khotanese text is, however, defective at this point, and may once have contained such an introduction. Approximately seven folios (or eight, if Emmerick's placement here of the Leningrad folio [for which no folio number is available] should be incorrect) are missing just prior to the beginning of the Kauśāmbī story. Previous folios in the sequence, however, contain an account of the activities of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, and this account may well have continued into the missing section.

[128] The ethnonym *Śakuna occurs only in these two versions of the text, and has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Lamotte's conjecture (*HBI*, p. 222) that the term reflects a conflation of the names *śaka* and *hūṇa* is intriguing, but has not been substantiated. A full examination of this issue should take into consideration both the possibility that the term is a deliberate alteration of the word *śaka* (see below, p. 77, n. 148) and that it might be the result of a copying error. In the latter case the corresponding Chinese rendition "good thought Saka" (善意釋迦) and the Tibetan reading *sha-ka'i mi*, lit. "man of the Sakas," found in the *Karmaśataka* (Derge vol. 73, *mdo-sde* ད་, 267b1) might supply useful data for reconstructing the underlying Indian text.

(波羅),[129] Persians (百祀),[130] and "good thought Saka" (善意,釋迦),[131] a form which has yet to be explained. In the Chinese the three kings are assigned to the southern, western, and northern directions, respectively, with the king of Kauśāmbī located in the east; in the Tibetan and Khotanese versions, by contrast, no directions are associated with the three kings at all, and the king of Kauśāmbī is placed in the south.[132]

Meanwhile a son named Dusprasaha (Ch. 難看, Khot. *Dusprasavä*)[133]

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[129] For this derivation see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 1 and n. 11.

[130] This interpretation is rather uncertain, but to my knowledge no better reading has yet been suggested. For this derivation see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 1 and n. 12.

[131] Certainly a variant of the ethnic name Saka, though I have not seen (or been able to develop) an adequate explanation of the component "good thought."

[132] The Tibetan text states, more specifically, that Kauśāmbī is located "on the other, southern side" of the Ganges (in the Tun-huang ms., *'Ga'-'ga'i pha-rol lho-phyogs-na*; see Tibetan text below, line 96), and that the countries of Gandhāra, Madhyadeśa and so on are on "this side" of the river (*'Ga'-'ga'i tshu-rol*, line 94). This description is geographically problematic, but can provide a valuable clue to the location of the recension of the text on which the Tibetan translation is based. The city of Kauśāmbī is indeed located on the southern bank of the Ganges river; the problem, however, is that west of this area the river runs in a north-south direction, not west to east. Thus a person living in this region (that is, in north-central India) would hardly describe the "other" side of the river as being located to the south. Moreover, by stating that both Gandhāra and Madhyadeśa are on "this side" of the river the text creates further problems, since most of the territory traditionally described as comprising Madhyadeśa is in fact to the south of the Ganges. The only vantage point from which this description would make sense (that is, from which a geographical error of this type would likely have been made) is in the far northwest, where one might know from hearsay that Kauśāmbī is on the southern bank of the Ganges, but not be close enough to that river to realize that a large segment of it runs from north to south. The reference to Gandhāra as being on "this side" of the river in itself suggests a location in the far northwest.

[133] The Chinese translation of this name (lit. "hard to look at") agrees with the Tibetan transcription of the Sanskrit *Dusprasaha* ("hard to tolerate, hard to bear"). The Khotanese form, however, requires explanation. Clearly the form in final *-ha* is the original one; **Dusprasava* would be meaningless in Sanskrit (or Prakrit), and all the translated or transliterated forms of the name in versions of the story other than the Khotanese can be derived from Skt. (or Pkt.) *Dusprasaha* (see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 3). What must be explained, then, is how an original final *-ha* could have become *-va* in the Khotanese version (or its ancestor). A sound shift, or aural error, resulting in conversion of *-ha* to *-va* would be highly unlikely; if we look instead for a possible visual error, however, the answer may be readily apparent. In the Brāhmī script (or in the variant of that script used to write Khotanese) the letters *ha* and *va* do not

is born to King Mahendrasena, and on the same night sons are also born to five hundred ministers of the king (according to the Tibetan version), merchants (according to the Khotanese), or elders (according to the Chinese). The Tibetan alone mentions that a talking horse will be born on the same night; all three versions agree that a rain of blood will fall. In the Tibetan and Khotanese versions the king then receives a prophecy that, according to these omens, his son will conquer all of Jambudvīpa and become its sole ruler; the Chinese text states simply that the children will be brought up.

When the young prince reaches the age of twelve (according to the Tibetan version; the Chinese reads "seven," and no age is specified in the Khotanese version) the three evil kings will invade his father's territory. The Khotanese and Chinese versions have the father abdicate in favor of his son, who then takes on the invaders, and the Khotanese compiler – here clearly improvising, to good literary effect – offers considerable detail on the battle scene. (In the Tibetan version the father turns over the throne shortly thereafter, when he sees that his son has defeated the enemy.) In all three versions Dusprasaha now becomes the ruler of all Jambudvīpa.

The young king, however, now becomes concerned about the karmic effects of his military campaigns, and he turns to a *tripiṭaka* master named Śisyaka (here, however, written in all three versions in a form which must go back to Sanskrit or Prakrit **Śirṣaka*[134]) for advice. Śisyaka preaches the

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resemble one another at all; in the Kharoṣṭhī script, however – long employed in the Tarim Basin for Prākrit documents of both religious and secular character – the two letters are written in the forms 2 and Z, respectively (see the chart by Rapson in A. M. Boyer et al., *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, Part II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), Plate XIV. This clearly suggests a period of transmission of the Kauśāmbī story in the Kharoṣṭhī script, prior to its eventual recording in Khotanese.

134 See Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 5. Of all the versions of the Kauśāmbī story identified to date only the three members of the *Candragarbha* group and the Chinese *Mahāvibhāṣā* translation contain forms of this name which clearly go back to an original

Dharma for the king, and in the Tibetan and Khotanese versions urges the king to "take refuge in the three jewels for twelve years" (Tib.), or to "give to the *bhikṣu-saṃgha*" (Khot.). At this point the Khotanese version alone notes that "fifteen hundred years are now fulfilled," and that the Dharma is about to die out.

The king then invites all the monks in Jambudvīpa to come to Kauśambī, but many are killed along the way; only 100,000 manage to arrive in the capital. At this point (in the Tibetan and Chinese versions) the king develops the desire to see an arhat, and is informed in a dream about the whereabouts of Sūrata. (The Khotanese version does not mention this incident, but simply has Sūrata appear with the rest at the assembly.) On the day of the *poṣadha* ceremony the familiar conflict between Śisyaka and Sūrata breaks out. A disciple of Śisyaka, named Aṅgada, kills Sūrata – with a door-bolt according to the Tibetan and Khotanese versions, with an ordinary stick according to the Chinese – and in turn is killed by a vajra-wielding yakṣa, Dadhimukha. A monk named *Kedāra (or *Kirāta)[135] then kills

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**Śirṣaka*. The spelling *Śisyaka* (which corresponds to all the translated versions and to earliest transliterated versions) is clearly the original. Again this can be explained if we postulate a Kharoṣṭhī-script antecedent: in this syllabary system the combination *-rṣa-* is written (see Rapson's chart in Boyer, *op. cit.*) while *-sya-* appears as (Rapson) or (A. H. Dani, *Indian Paleography* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963], Plate XIIIb, line 13). Once again the possibilities for such a misreading are evident.

135 Written *Ge-rad* in the Tibetan, *Chi-duo-lo* 鷄多羅 in the Chinese; no name is given in the Khotanese version. Since this name appears only in these two versions of the story (and subsequently in the *Dgra-bcom-pa Dge-'dun phel-gyis lung-bstan-pa*, one of the "late Khotanese adaptations" in which proper names are quite distorted), it is difficult to reconstruct its original Indian form with certainty. The Chinese transcription suggests an original final *-a* in the Indian form (which is straightforward to reconstruct in the Tibetan, since the omission of this vowel is a frequent result of a copyist's overlooking of the intersyllabic dot · [*tsheg*]). There are very few Sanskrit (or Prakrit) terms beginning with *ge-* or *gi-*, and none corresponds to either the Chinese or the Tibetan transcription. We are thus left with the task of identifying a probable antecedent in *ki-* or *ke-*, of which *Kedāra* "name of Śiva as worshipped in Himālaya" (MW 309a) and *Kirāta* "a degraded border tribe" (MW 283c) seem the most likely. Since the transcription of *i* as *e* (and vice versa) is extremely common, our task is to decide whether the last two syllables are to be read as

Śisyaka. A general brawl then breaks out, and all the monks in the assembly are killed. Bad omens appear, the gods weep, and the yakṣas (according to the Khotanese and Chinese versions) fall to the ground and writhe. The Tibetan version alone notes that the Buddha's mother, Māyādevī, and a contingent of gods then gather up the robes of the monks and carry them off.

King Dusprasaha now comes upon the scene (accompanied by a group of merchants, according to the Khotanese text), and finds all the monks dead. The king bewails the fate of the Dharma, and at this point the Khotanese account ends.[136] In the Chinese version the king then proceeds to cremate the remains of Śisyaka and Sūrata (an event which occurs somewhat later in the Tibetan). At this point the Tibetan version states that the ministers will feel great pity for the king, and will disguise five hundred men as monks (Tib. *ban-de*),[137] clothing them in red and black animal hides (since the

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**-da-ra* or *-*-ra-ta*. Ordinarily one would suspect the Chinese rather than the Tibetan of having undergone syllabic metathesis, since in Chinese the inadvertent transposition of characters (especially in unfamiliar foreign names) is quite common. Here, however, the Tibetan offers an equally plausible solution, since *ra* and *da* are frequently confused in the Tibetan script (for examples in our text see the P1 version of the Tibetan, lines 174 [n. 2] and 179 [n. 1]). I would therefore suggest an original Indian form *Kedāra* → Tib. *ཀེ་ད་ར་ → *ཀེ་དར་ → ཀེ་རད་, the form attested in the Tibetan *Candragarbha* text. This would provide an exact parallel to the Chinese spelling *Chi-duo-lo* (A. Ch. *ˎkiei-tâ-lâ*, Karlgren nos. 126, 1006, 569).

136 Or more accurately, the Khotanese text breaks off. After stating in line 521 "So greatly is this age corrupted in the end. Strive now so that even the Śasana..." (Emmerick, *Zambasta*, p. 419), the text breaks off, and the following 11 folios (comprising 121 lines, according to Emmerick's calculations) are missing. It is possible that further material directly related to the Kauśāmbī story would have been contained in the missing folios; on the other hand, the story itself has been finished, and the exhortation to the reader or listener to "strive..." would seem to be a fitting concluding statement. When the text resumes at line 642 (folio 439, *Zambasta*, p. 421), it is with material that does not parallel either the Tibetan or the Chinese version of the *Candragarbha* text.

137 On this term (which I would derive from Skt./Pkt. *bhadante*, voc. < *bhadanta* "a term of respect applied to a Buddhist, a Buddhist mendicant" [MW 745c], rather than from the *vandya* "praiseworthy, very venerable" [MW 919b] as most authorities have done) see Chapter 2, note 24 to the English translation of the Tibetan.

colored dyes used for making monastic robes have now disappeared). The king then proceeds to question these imposters concerning the Buddhist teachings, and finds to his dismay that they are unable to answer his questions. The king realizes that the Dharma has indeed disappeared. He then cremates the dead monks, and (in the late Tibetan xylograph editions only) himself dies of grief. The Chinese text is less coherent at this point: without mentioning any disguise on the part of loyal ministers, the Chinese text suddenly has a contingent of monks appear out of nowhere, even though the text has previously stated that all of them have been killed. The result is the same, however: when the king asks them to preach the Dharma they are unable to do so, and the king realizes that the teachings have indeed disappeared.

The Tibetan text now closes with a brief description of the general decline that will ensue:

> Then gold will turn to bad silver and stone, silver will turn to brass, brass will turn to copper, and jewels and pearls will turn to horn. And of the six flavors of food, four of them – sweet and so on – will disappear. And only two – the bitter and the pungent – will remain.[138]

The Chinese, by contrast, continues with a long concluding section which has no parallel in any other version of the Kauśāmbī story and which is worthy of attention in its own right. After a general description of the decline to be suffered by the natural world, human beings themselves, and the Dharma, the Buddha goes on to say that he will renounce one-third of his lifespan for the benefit of sentient beings, thus prolonging the lifespan of the Dharma. It is at this point that this section of the Chinese *Candragarbha* offers its own

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[138] See the Tibetan text given in Chapter 2, lines 255-259. The above translation is based solely on the Tun-huang version; the xylograph editions exhibit considerable variations in this passage.

timetable for decline: the True Dharma (正法) will last five hundred years, the Buddha states, and the Semblance Dharma (像法) will last for 1,000 years. Interestingly, the Buddha here emphasizes the importance of giving to the monastic community, even if the monks are breaking the precepts. If someone gives offerings to them, the Buddha says, "It is like making offerings to me." The Buddha goes on to describe various austerities he performed in many previous lifetimes in order "to make the Dharma long bright" (a refrain frequently repeated in this section). The Buddha then offers a *dhāraṇī* to his followers, for the purpose of making the Dharma long endure in the world – an element not found in any other version of the Kauśāmbī story. At this point various good omens appear, sentient beings of various types attain new levels of insight, and the Buddha increases the three "essential life-forces" (三精氣).[139]

The *Candragarbha* section of the Chinese text closes with the statement that the merits resulting from the Buddha's offerings to previous Buddhas during his former lives can be divided into three parts: (1) one part for himself; (2) one part for those śravakas who are firm in *samādhi*, leading to liberation; and (3) one part for śravakas who break the precepts, but recite the sutras and put on monastic robes in the times of the True and Semblance Dharma. The Buddha asks the future Buddha Maitreya to protect these śravakas "so they will not be poor," and to prevent *caṇḍāla*-kings from harming those śravakas who break the precepts. The section closes with the

139 This curious term has no parallel in either the Tibetan or the Khotanese text, and is not defined in this immediate context. In a previous passage, however (T. 13.324a13-14), these three are described as being "the essential life-force of the earth" (地精氣), "the essential life-force of all living beings" (衆生精氣), and the "wondrous essential life-force of the True Dharma" (妙正法精氣). (I would like to thank Judith Boltz for locating this passage, and for passing on this information to me.) Whatever the origin of these terms – which may well represent Chinese input into the text – they are certainly not standard Buddhist expressions.

joyful reception of this message by all human and non-human sentient beings.

Several elements in these three accounts are worthy of note. First, the very presence of the interlocutor, the bodhisattva Candragarbha (in the Tibetan and Chinese versions), suggests a certain degree of Mahāyāna input into this version of the tradition. It is important to note, however, that this is the *only* Mahāyāna element in the Tibetan text; the rest of the story, like the other versions discussed above (with the exception of the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra*), is entirely devoid of Mahāyāna content. In the Khotanese version, too, there is only a single Mahāyāna element: when the monks assemble at Kauśāmbī, we are told, they realize that "the Mahāyāna is then completely ruined."[140] In the Chinese version we find a far greater number of Mahāyāna elements, including mentions of the six *pāramitās* (375b, 377a and 379c, the last two in conjunction with references to the arising of bodhisattvas), the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (377a, 380b), the appearance of bodhisattvas in general (380a), and the coming of bodhisattvas to greet the believer at his or her death (381b). In the closing passages of this section the text also refers to the generation of *bodhicitta* by various sentient beings in the audience (380b). Most striking of all is the presence in the Chinese version of a *dhāraṇī* offered by the Buddha to his followers "in order to make the Dharma long endure" (380b), a feature with no counterpart in any other version of the text. All of these, however, occur outside the body of the Kauśāmbī story itself (377b-379b), in what might best be described as a "framing" section which has no close parallel in any other version of the text.

Does the addition of these Mahāyāna elements, then, constitute a

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[140] Emmerick, *Zambasta*, p. 411.

genuine "Mahāyānization" of the account? Certainly this is not the case in the Tibetan and the Khotanese versions, where Mahāyāna elements are minimal and could easily be removed without noticeably altering the plot. In the Chinese version, however, the case is more complex. The main lines of the Kauśāmbī story are still quite devoid of Mahāyāna content.[141] In the closing passages of the chapter (summarized above), however, we can discern a distinct attempt to withdraw from the conclusion implied in the other versions of the story: now the emphasis is *not* on the fact that the demise of the Dharma is inevitable and will take place (despite the best efforts of Buddhists to the contrary) after a fixed period of time, but on the Buddha's heroic efforts to stave off that decline.

Since both the closing section and the introduction (that is, the "framing" sections) found in the Chinese text have no parallel in any other version of the Kauśāmbī story, it is reasonable to conclude that they were not part of the early tradition but were added at some specific point in the transmission of the text. That this took place in a Mahāyāna environment is quite certain, since both segments of the "frame" contain a high concentration of Mahāyāna ideas. Since the Chinese version was not translated until 566 C.E., these sections could have been added as late as the first half of the 6th century. It would be extremely interesting if we could determine whether this addition took place in India, in Central Asia, or in China. In this regard we may consider the following. First, the *dhāraṇī* given in the concluding section of the Chinese (380b5-9) does not appear, at first glance, to be a genuine transcription of Indian words (with the exception of the last

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141 The same is true of the other Mahāyāna-influenced version of the Kauśāmbī story discussed above (pp. 54-56), the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra*.

three syllables, *su-p'o-ho*, which we can assume to be a transcription of Skt. *svāhā*.[142] Second, the reference to people looking upon their parents as "field deer" (379b21) is derived from Chinese, not Indian, imagery.[143] Third, in its description of the various disastrous consequences of the decline of the Dharma the Chinese version states that among these are a decrease in sexual power and pleasure (379b22); one would expect an Indian Buddhist source to see this as a positive value, not a negative one. Fourth, as already noted, the repeated reference to the "three essential life-forces" does not seem to reflect any term in the Indian Buddhist repertoire.[144] Fifth, the reference to the "white Dharma" and "black Dharma" (376b25, 376c10) does not seem to correspond to Indian Buddhist terminology. Sixth, though the expression of devotion to one's parents is not absent (as Gregory Schopen has recently demonstrated[145]) from the worldview of Indian Buddhism, the direct reference to people being "unfilial to their parents" (不孝於父母, 377b17) sounds suspiciously Chinese. Seventh, the unabashed advertising of "long life, fame, and wealth" and "never being poor" as among the benefits obtained by listening to the sutra (381b21-22) reflects a level of concern with issues of wealth and poverty that would be unusual in an Indian Buddhist text, but very much at home in the Chinese context. Finally, throughout both

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142 The evaluation of the "authenticity" of a *dhāraṇī* is always tentative, of course, since *dhāraṇī*s found in Indian texts can likewise consist of apparently meaningless terms.

143 The expression is used at least as early as the Former Han dynasty; see Wm. T. de Bary, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), vol. 1, p. 162 for the use of this expression in the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* of Tung Chung-shu (2nd c. B.C.E.).

144 See for example 376a8 and 12, 376c25, 379b10 and 29. Cf. above, n. 139.

145 Gregory Schopen, "Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of 'Sinicization' Viewed from the Other Side," *T'oung Pao*, 70 (1984), pp. 110-126.

the introductory and concluding sections the Chinese text exhibits a major concern with the financial support of the Buddhist community, and with exhortations to rulers not to punish those monks who do not faithfully adhere to the monastic rules. As we have seen, these are concerns that are frequently expressed in Chinese Buddhist texts, but are almost unknown in Indian ones.[146] Thus we may tentatively suggest that the "frame" of the story (which is found only in the Chinese version) was added in a Chinese context, in response to Chinese conditions.

Another important task is to determine the degree of relationship among the texts in the *Candragarbha* group, on the one hand, and of the group as a whole with other versions of the Kauśāmbī story. Beginning with the latter, in referring to the king of Kauśāmbī by name as Mahendrasena and in including his son Dusprasaha in the story the three *Candragarbha* texts agree with the *Aśoka-avadāna* group and diverge from the other texts discussed above. The *Candragarbha* texts again agree with the *Aśoka-avadāna* group (but here also with the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra*) in portraying the conflict at Kauśāmbī as a direct confrontation between the *tripiṭaka* master and the arhat Sūrata, rather than between the arhat and an unnamed group of monks (as in the two *Kātyāyana* prophecies).

In other respects, however, the *Candragarbha* texts differ from the *Aśoka-avadāna* group and conform with other versions instead. First, while the *Aśoka-avadāna* texts all refer to the death of King Mahendrasena, and to Dusprasaha's turning against the Buddhist community in the wake of the altercation at Kauśāmbī, these elements do not appear in the *Candragarbha* texts. Nor does the *Candragarbha* group include any mention of the group of five hundred pious lay disciples who criticize the monks' bad

146 See above, p. 24, n. 52.

behavior, a feature found both in the *Aśoka-avadāna* texts and in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*.

In two respects the *Candragarbha* texts all agree with one another, while differing from the other texts described above. First, the *Candragarbha* texts are alone in stating that *all* the monks assembled at Kauśāmbī – not just a portion of the group – are killed in the intra-saṃgha struggle. (This shift may be seen as evidence of an ongoing process of editorial rationalization, since the survival of *any* monks at all might conflict with the overall premise of the account that the Dharma has completely and totally disappeared.) And second, all three texts in the *Candragarbha* group agree in transcribing the name "Śisyaka" with an internal *r* (< Skt./Pkt. **Śirṣaka*?), which (as discussed above) may betray the influence of a Kharoṣṭhī-script ancestor.[147] All in all, however, it is in general the continuities between the core of the Kauśāmbī story as related in the three *Candragarbha* texts and with those of other versions, rather than any striking innovations in plot, that are most striking.

Despite these important continuities, however, we can still make certain distinctions even within the *Candragarbha* group, and these can help us in determining the degree of common ancestry among the texts in this group. At first glance it would seem that the Khotanese and Chinese versions of the *Candragarbha* are resemble each other more closely than either version does the Tibetan; both contain a 1,500-year timetable for the

[147] This feature is not in fact restricted to the *Candragarbha* group, though this is the only group in which it occurs with complete consistency. The Chinese translation of the *Mahāvibhāṣā* also contains a form of the name "Śisyaka" that goes back to an underlying **Śirṣaka*, and it is possible (though in my view not probable) that the *Saṃyukta-āgama* reflects such a form as well. The *Mahāvibhāṣa*, however, is based on a large number of sources, one of which (in the late recension that served as the basis for Hsüan-tsang's translation) may well have been the *Candragarbha-sūtra* itself. For a more detailed discussion see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 5 and note 17.

duration of the Dharma (in contrast to the 2,000-year timetable of the Tibetan), and both are cast either entirely (Khotanese) or predominantly (Chinese) in verse. Yet a closer look reveals that these seemingly common features do not indicate a close genetic relationship between the two. The stylistic similarity, first of all, cannot be used as evidence, for the selections contained in the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* are *all* cast entirely in verse, regardless of the literary style of their Indian originals. As to the 1,500-year timetable, the Khotanese and Chinese versions insert this figure at different points in the story, and the Chinese goes on to divide this total time period into two sub-periods of five hundred years (*cheng-fa*) and one thousand years (*hsiang-fa*), a distinction not made in the Khotanese version. One's overall impression, then, is that the 1,500-year timetable has been added to these two texts quite independently, just as a 2,000-year time scheme has been added to the Tibetan.

A better case can in fact be constructed for a close connection between the Tibetan and Khotanese versions, which agree in a number of key respects. In both of these recensions the directional locations of the three evil kings have been omitted, and the king of Kauśāmbī is located in the south; this is in contrast to the Chinese version, which preserves a vestige of the original locations of the three evil kings and places Kauśāmbī – as is standard in most of the sources discussed above – in the east. Again the Tibetan and Khotanese agree on the implement used to kill the arhat: both versions state that Aṅgada employs a door-bolt, a rather unusual weapon (cf. the Chinese, which says simply that he is killed with a stick). Most striking of all, however, is a seeming aberration in the name of one of the three foreign powers: both the Tibetan and the Khotanese versions replace the ethnonym "Saka" (Sanskrit *śaka*) with an otherwise unattested ethnonym, Skt./Pkt.

śakuna. That this form does not appear in any other version of the Kauśāmbī story in itself suggests a common ancestry for the Tibetan and Khotanese versions of this text.[148]

All in all, then, there is little significant innovation (that is, little change that is doctrinally significant) in the versions of the Kauśāmbī story contained in the *Candragarbha* texts. Despite the peripheral Mahāyāna accretions that begin to appear in these texts, they represent a continuation of a long-established tradition, not a radical innovation in the understanding of the decline myth.

7. Late Khotanese Adaptations

All of the texts discussed above, despite numerous variations in detail and an ever-increasing layer of accretions, can fairly be described as versions of a single story. All place the scene of the disappearance of the Dharma at the city of Kauśāmbī, and locate the invasions by the three foreign kings in the northwestern part of India. And with the exception of the verse translation of the *Prediction of Kātyāyana*, which alters the names of the three foreign kings to read "Rome, Iran, and Parthia" (and to a lesser extent the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra*, which apparently replaces the word "Greek" with "Persian") all the versions of the story in which the names can be deciphered describe the invaders as the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians. The story itself, the main characters and the geographical references within it all make sense in terms of the experience of Buddhists living in and around the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent in the early centuries of the

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[148] It is entirely possible that this change was made in the Tarim Basin region, with the intention of removing any association with the Sakas (i.e., the people of Khotan). (On the ethnonym *saka* and related forms see H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 7 [London: Cambridge University Press, 1985], pp. 63-75.) We should also note, however, the occurence of the form *śakuni* in the Sanskrit epic *Mahābharata*,V 196.7 (cited in Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 6, p. 335).

common era.

The texts we are about to examine, by contrast, do not fit this description at all. All three were almost certainly composed in Khotan, but are preserved only in Tibetan translations. Though they can tell us little about the origins of the Kauśāmbī story in India, they provide considerable information about the ways in which the story was updated and altered to fit the requirements of new historical circumstances. They are referred to as "late" because they all refer to historical events which took place in the first half of the 8th century C.E.; I have styled them "Khotanese" because there is every indication that these traditions were first formulated, and subsequently set down in writing, in or around the city of Khotan.[149]

The three texts included in this category are the following:

1. ***Li'i yul*** **[*-gyi dgra-bcom-pas*]** ***lung-bstan-pa*** ("The Prophecy of [the Arhat of] Khotan"): Peking No. 5699, Derge No. 4202; also in the Narthang edition (vol. 94 [*mdo* ངེ་], 420b3-424b1). Three Tun-huang manuscript copies have also been preserved,[150] as well as a Chinese translation based on the Tibetan.[151] In this case, however – in contrast to that of the Tibetan

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[149] Here I differ with F. W. Thomas, who viewed at least the first two of these works as original Tibetan compositions, and suggested that the three might have been produced in Tun-huang, Tibet, and Sha-chou, respectively (see his *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan* [London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935], vol. 1, pp. 42, 50, 51, and 307, n. 3). R. E. Emmerick, who has published an edition of the third of these works (in *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* [London: Oxford University Press, 1967]), does not commit himself on this issue, stating only that the text demonstrates a "close association with Khotan" (p. xi) and uses terms that "could only have been known to someone familiar with Khotanese usage" (pp. xi-xii).

[150] Tun-huang text nos. J597, J598, J601.2 (kept in the India Office Library division of the British Museum). A critical edition and English translation of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of this text is currently in preparation by Christopher I. Beckwith and Takeuchi Tsuguhito. In the meantime see the pioneering but outdated translation by Thomas in his *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 77-87.

[151] Pelliot no. 2139 (Tun-huang ms.), translated from the Tibetan by Chos-grub (Ch. Fa-ch'eng). See the discussion by Pelliot in *JA*, vol. 1 (1914), pp. 144-145.

Candragarbha-sūtra editions discussed above – the xylograph editions clearly represent a separate translation, as they contain numerous differences in vocabulary, phrasing and content from that of the Tun-huang copies.[152] None of the manuscript or xylograph copies contains an indication of translation date, but for reasons discussed below the Khotanese original cannot have been composed earlier than the second half of the 8th century C.E.

Of the three texts in this group the *Prophecy of Khotan* (called in some but not all recensions the *Prophecy of the Arhat of Khotan*)[153] contains the shortest version of the Kauśāmbī story, which is simply summarized in a paragraph at the end of the text. The bulk of the account is devoted not to events in India at all, but to the fate of a group of monks and nuns from Khotan.

The story, in brief, goes as follows. During the reign of the seventh ruler of Khotan, King Vijayakīrti, there was an arhat named Samghavardhana (Tib. *San-gha-bardha-na*).[154] A student of the arhat, who had seen the prophecy of *Candragarbha*, asked the arhat how long the Dharma would endure in the three countries of *Li* (Khotan),[155] *Shu-lig*

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[152] Here I differ with the opinion of Thomas, who saw the xylograph editions as mere revisions of an original similar to the surviving Tun-huang texts (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 41). Thomas's reasoning was of course swayed by his assumption that the text was not a translation at all, but an original Tibetan composition (pp. 41-42).

[153] See Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 77, n. 1 and p. 87. This text should not be confused with another work, titled "Prophey of the Li Country" by Emmerick (see the edition and translation in his *Tibetan Texts*, pp. 2-75) and "Annals of the Li Country" by Thomas (translation in *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 89-136). The latter does not include a version of the Kauśāmbī story, and will not be considered here.

[154] The same figure reappears in the following text.

[155] No satisfactory explanation for the regular Tibetan rendering of the name of the kingdom of Khotan as "*Li* country" (Tib. *li-yul*) – a name which does not appear in the Khotanese sources themselves, or for that matter in any other language – has yet been offered. The suggestion by R.-A. Stein (*Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*

(Kashgar),[156] and *'An-se* (Kucha).[157] The arhat replied that the Dharma would endure for 2,000 years after the Buddha's nirvana.[158] At that time, he replied, these three countries will suffer from disturbances brought about by a variety of enemies, among them the Chinese (*rgya*), Tibetans (*gdong-dmar*, lit. "red faces"),[159] Supīyas (*so-byi*),[160] Turks (*drug-gu*), and

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[Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959], p. 284 and p. 313, n. 126) that *Li* represents a Tibetan transcription of the Chinese family name *Li* 李, adopted by the Khotanese ruling family around the beginning of the 10th century, is not in my view persuasive, especially since the Tibetan sources began to employ this name considerably before that date. In this connection it is worth noting the expression "*Vi* country" (Khot. *vi janivi*), derived from the earlier ruling family name *Viśa* (= *Viźa*), which occurs once in a Khotanese document (cited in Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 4 [1961], p. 7).

156 Not *from* Chinese *Shu-lo* 疏勒, as stated by Emmerick (*Tibetan Texts*, p. 105a, s.v. *śu-lig*), but a transcription of a local name of Kashgar, of which the Chinese (A.Ch. *ṣiʷo'-lək*, K. nos. 904, 523) is also a representation.

157 Presumably a transcription of Chinese *an-hsi* 安西 ("pacified west"), the name of the Chinese protectorate established in the Tarim Basin region during the T'ang period, with its main headquarters located at Kucha during part of this period. C. I. Beckwith (*The Tibetan Empire* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987], p. 198) is correct in asserting that this term should not in general be "confused" with Kucha, but in the present instance the context requires the identification of *'an-se* with the kingdom of Kucha itself, and not with a broader administrative unit.

158 So the Tun-huang mss; the xylograph editions, however, read "1,000 years" (see Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 78 and n. 4). Thomas states that the number 1,000 is "doubtless the more original figure" (n. 4); I would argue, however, that its presence here – in the xylograph editions alone – is not the result of its antiquity, but of a copying error.

159 The listing of the Tibetans among the hostile forces, as well as the use of this term (which occurs throughout the text) in place of the ethnonym *bod*, is sufficient evidence in itself, in my view, that the text is not a Tibetan composition. The epithet "red faces" is a reference to the Tibetan custom, current during the imperial period, of smearing their faces with red pigment. Note that the same expression is attested as a name for the Tibetans in the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*, 15.9 (Khot. *heinā-khoca*, for which see Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 12, 87). Bailey describes this term as a Khotanese rendering of a Tibetan self-designation, but in my view the reverse – that *gdong-dmar* represents a Tibetan translation of Khot. *heinā-khoca* – is more likely.

160 The Supīyas, who inhabited the northern slopes of the Kun-lun mountains and were a constant threat to the inhabitants of the oasis towns in the southern Tarim Basin throughout most of the first millennium C.E., are mentioned already in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the Niya region (3rd c. C.E.); see the index to A. M. Boyer et al., *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, s.v. *supiya*. The transcription of their name here as *So-byi* (in contrast to the usual Tibetan spelling *Sum-pa*) is again an indication that this text was translated into Tibetan from another language. In this connection we should note the

Uighurs (*hor*).[161] The countries of 'An-se and Shu-lig will be particularly disturbed by these upheavals, and most of the monks residing there will flee to Khotan. At that time a bodhisattva will take birth as king of Tibet,[162] and the practice of Buddhism will flourish in Tibet. During the time that Khotan is under the sway of Tibet the Buddhist samgha in both countries will flourish. Afterwards, in the seventh generation,[163] there will (again) be a Bodhisattva ruling Tibet; his consort will be the Chinese princess Kong-co, who will have great faith in Buddhism.[164] Meanwhile in Khotan a non-Buddhist king will come to the throne, and will command the monks to either become householders or leave the country. Having assembled at Tsar-ma, the oldest monastery in Khotan, the monks and nuns will decide to go to Tibet in hopes of receiving better treatment. With supernatural assistance

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Khotanese spelling of the name as *Supīya* (see Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 7, pp. 79-81), as well as Bailey's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 80) that the Tibetan *so-byi* is derived from a Chinese form.

161 Eventually this term comes to mean "Mongol," but in the imperial period it was still used to refer to the Uighurs. The corresponding Chinese text has *hui-ho* 回紇, "Uighur."

162 Here the reference is presumably to Srong-bstan sgam-po, founder of the Tibetan empire, whose Buddhist sympathies are however only legendary (see Hoffmann, *Tibet*, pp. 126-127).

163 The chronological problem which concerned Thomas (see *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 79, n. 6) has vanished with improved knowledge of the history of this period. For a chart of the Tibetan rulers in this era see Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 215.

164 On the events in question, which took place during the reign of the Tibetan ruler Mes-'ag-tshoms (r. 704-755 C.E.), see Hoffmann, *Tibet*, pp. 44, 128. The Buddhist cause was supported by the king's Chinese wife, Chin-ch'eng Kung-chu 金城公主 (known as *Kong-co* in Tibetan sources), herself a fervent Buddhist. The queen died, however, during a smallpox epidemic that swept through Tibet in 740-41, some three years after the arrival of the Khotanese monks, and opponents of Buddhism (including many of the ministers of state) took advantage of the situation to argue that the Tibetan gods were angry with the presence of these foreign religious figures. Their arguments were successful, and the Khotanese monks were again sent on their way.

from Vaiśravaṇa[165] and from a goddess named Śrī-mahādevī[166] they will survive the rigors of the journey and arrive in Tibet. For three years they are well received. Subsequently, however, an epidemic breaks out, taking the life of the Chinese queen herself. After her death a group of ministers succeed in persuading the king that the epidemic is due to the presence of so many foreign monks,[167] and that they should all be expelled. The Tibetan monks cast in their lot with their foreign compatriots (who now include a large contingent of Chinese monks, who have left China and come to Tibet due to the ruler's pro-Taoist policies[168]) and join them on a long and arduous journey to Gandhāra. Due to supernatural assistance – in this case offered by a *nāga* king, who turns his body into a bridge to provide a short-cut across a lake – most of them are able to arrive at their destination.

For two years the Khotanese and Tibetan monks will prosper in Gandhāra. Then, however, the king of the country will die, and a succession struggle between his two sons – one a follower of Buddhism (*lha-chos*), the other a partisan of "heretical religion" (*mu-stegs-kyi chos*, almost certainly a reference to Islam) – will ensue. The monks of course support the Buddhist

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165 Note that this name is transliterated as *Bai-shra-ma-ṇa* (a form derived from the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit spelling *Vaiśramaṇa*, not Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*; see Edgerton, *BHSD*, 513a), and not translated (as *Rnam-thos-kyi bu*) as is usually done in Tibetan. On the forms of this name in Khotanese and other Central Asian languages see H. W. Bailey in *BSOAS*, 10 (1942), p. 912.

166 Not a standard figure in the Indian pantheon; possibly a local goddess in Buddhistic garb.

167 The *Prophecy of Khotan* specifies that the epidemic was spread by monks from Nepal, a fact not mentioned in other versions of the story (see Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 49).

168 The reference to Taoism appears only in this text. The ruler in question is presumably emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 712-756), whose pro-Taoist sentiments are well known (see Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], pp. 51-57 and p. 168, n. 26). The Tibetan text specifies that the pro-Taoist policies went into effect some time after the arrival of Kong-co in Tibet in 710.

candidate, who (with their assistance) is successful in gaining the throne. After only six months, however, an unnamed monk will assassinate the king and take the throne for himself. At this point the people of Gandhāra rise in revolt, kill the usurper-monk, and expel the other monks from the kingdom. Now the reflection of the True Dharma (*saddharma-pratirūpaka*) will perish in Gandhāra, and the monks will again begin their wanderings.

Finally we come to the brief passage that parallels the Kauśāmbī story itself. Here the three foreign kings have not yet been subjected to the wholesale changes of name which occur in the other two versions, but are referred to simply as "king[s] of the west and king[s] of the north, 'Greek' and so on."[169] Though the story is told in condensed form, it has undergone no visible changes in plot:

> ... increasing in power, those three kings will seize the western and northern country. The three kings, each accompanied by an army of a hundred thousand men, having marched into the country of Kauśāmbī, the king of Kauśāmbī will annihilate the armies of three hundred thousand men, along with the kings, leaving not a single man. Then the king of Kauśāmbī, in order to purge the sin of slaying so many armies, will invite all the monks resident in Jambudvīpa; after arriving in the country of Kauśāmbī the samghas will quarrel and slay each other, and the reflection of the True Dharma (*saddharma-pratirūpaka*) in Jambudvīpa will perish completely.[170]

Of particular interest for our purposes is the following line, which reads "but the details may be known as stated in the sūtra of the Prophecy made to

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[169] In the Narthang edition (vol. 94 [*mdo* ཆེ་], 424a4), *nub-phyogs-kyi rgyal-po dang / byang-phyogs-kyi rgyal-po ya-ba-na la-sogs-pa.*

[170] Following the translation of F. W. Thomas (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 86, which he based on the Tun-huang manuscripts rather than on the noticeably different xylograph editions), with certain emendations.

the Bodhisattva Candragarbha."[171] Thus in the closing of the text as in the opening, the *Candragarbha* prophecy is described as a standard source of information on the ultimate disappearance of the Dharma.

In general, then, it is fair to say that the description of the decline and disappearance of the Dharma given in the *Prophecy of Khotan* follows the main lines of the *Candragarbha* account. The 2,000-year timetable found in the Tun-huang manuscripts matches that of the Tibetan *Candragarbha* translation, and though the the proper names cannot be used as a major point of comparison (since in this brief resumé virtually all proper names have been eliminated) the preservation of the name of one of the evil kings, *ya-ba-na* or "Greek," demonstrates that the author of this text must have had in mind the original trio of Greeks, Sakas and Parthians. What is strikingly new in this account, however, is its association with the fate of monastic community of Khotan, and this change paved the way for much more sweeping emendations of the Kauśāmbī tale in other Khotanese texts, to which we will now turn.

2. ***Dgra-bcom-pa Dge-'dun 'phel-gyis lung-bstan-pa*** ("The Prophecy of the Arhat Samghavardhana"): Peking No. 5698, Derge No. 4201; Narthang vol. 94 (*mdo* ངེ་), folios 412-420. The text contains no colophon, and thus cannot be dated with precision; as in the case of the *Prophecy of Khotan*, however, this work refers to historical events of the mid-8th century, and thus the original composition must be assigned to the second half of the 8th century at the earliest. Thomas considered this text to be older "by far" than the *Prophecy of Khotan* just discussed, but I am unable to go

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[171] Thomas, *loc. cit.* This sentence is omitted in the xylograph editions, which however contain a final sentence (not found in the Tun-huang mss.) reading "accords with the *Candragarbha* prophecy" (in the Narthang edition, *Tsan-dra-gar-bha'i lung-bstan-pa dang mthun-no* [vol. 94, 424b1]).

to agree with his reasoning.[172] In my view the *Prophecy of the Arhat Samghavardhana* represents not the antecedent of the *Prophecy of Khotan*, as Thomas would have it, but rather an adaptation and amplification of its content. In any case it is clearly the most detailed of the three Khotanese adaptations, and offers a number of interesting divergences from earlier versions of the Kauśāmbī story.

As in the *Prophecy of Khotan*, the text opens with a question by a pupil to his teacher, the Arhat Samghavardhana,[173] concerning the duration and ultimate fate of the Dharma in Khotan.[174] This time we find no direct mention of the *Candragarbha* prophecy (nor does such a reference occur anywhere in this text); the text states only that the pupil had heard that, "with the passing of two thousand years from the nirvana of Buddha, Buddha's doctrine would decline in the Indian country Kauśāmbī."[175] The arhat replies that 1,500 years after the death of the Buddha unbelievers (i.e., non-Buddhists) will arise in these countries, and the Dharma will suffer

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172 Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 43. More specifically, he assumes that a shorter version of a prophecy attributed to an arhat Samghavardhana, composed in "some form of Buddhist Sanskrit or Prakrit" (p. 50), once circulated in the Tarim Basin region. This ancient version was then recast in expanded form in Sanskrit, or possibly Khotanese or Tibetan (p. 51). Thomas dismisses the statement of a Tanjur catalogue (presumably the Narthang edition, though he provides no reference) that this text and the *Prophecy of Khotan* "seem to be translations from Khotan" as "a conjecture of no weight" (p. 51).

173 Here the name is translated (as *Dge-'dun 'phel*), rather than transliterated as in the *Prophecy of Khotan*. Note also that the arhat is described as residing in the Phru-ña monastery "in this country"; since the monastery in question was located in the kingdom of Khotan (Thomas, vol. I, p. 118-120) this would indicate that the text was a Khotanese composition.

174 More specifically, the inquiry concerns the fate of the Dharma "in the countries of Khotan and so on" (*Li-yul la-sogs-pa*, Derge ed. vol. 94 [*mdo* ཇེ་], 161b7 and *passim.*). Presumably more or less the same area described in the *Prophecy of Khotan* – that is, the countries of Khotan, Kashgar and Kucha – is meant.

175 Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. I, p. 52. Note that the timetable is again the same as that of the Tibetan *Candragarbha-sūtra*.

from fighting. Moreover, an unbelieving king will arise in Khotan,[176] and the fortunes of the Buddhist monastic community will decline. Accordingly, many monks and nuns will become extremely concerned with making a living, and will support themselves by carrying on various secular activities. As a result, the fortunes of the country will decline.

Then those monks and nuns of Khotan who are still devoted to Buddhism will gather in the Tshar-ma monastery and decide to go to Tibet. With assistance from Vaiśravaṇa and Śri-Mahādevī,[177] most of the group will arrive safely.

At that time a Chinese princess, "born of a Bodhisattva family," will be the chief queen of the king of Tibet. She will argue the cause of the Khotanese monks and nuns before the king, and he will allow her to furnish them with supplies. Meanwhile a group of monks from a variety of Central Asian countries[178] who have taken refuge in Gilgit (Tib. *Bru-sha*) will hear of the good reception Buddhism is receiving in Tibet, and they too will arrive in that country. For three years all will be well. After that time, however, an epidemic will spread in Tibet, and the queen herself will die of the disease. The ministers of the king, blaming the epidemic on the presence of the foreign monks, will insist that they all be expelled from the country. The king apparently agrees (though this is not stated explicitly in the text), and the Tibetan monks, together with their foreign compatriots (including a

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176 More literally, "in this country of Khotan" (*Li-yul 'dir*), again an indication that the text was composed in Khotan.

177 See above, n. 166.

178 The countries listed are *'An-tse* (D *An-rtse*), *Gus-tig*, *Par-mkhan* (D *Bar-wan*), and *Shu-lig* (D *Shu-lag*) (see Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 61 and the Derge edition, vol. 94, 165a3). Of these *Shu-lig* is the usual Tibetan name for Kashgar (see above, n. 156) and *Gus-tig* is an unidentified city along the northern Silk Road through the Tarim Basin (see Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 131). The identification of the other two is uncertain.

contingent from China[179]) set out for Gandhāra. As in the *Prophecy of Khotan*, however, the new arrivals will enjoy peace in Gandhāra for only two years. During the third year of their sojourn there the king of Gandhāra will die, triggering a succession dispute between his two (Buddhist and non-Buddhist) sons. The immigrant monks support the Buddhist candidate,[180] who is successful in his claims. After just five months, however, he will be assassinated by a group of "upland" monks,[181] who will put one of their number on the throne. The latter will rule for two years, after which the people of Gandhāra will revolt, and will assassinate the king and kill all the foreign monks they can find. Only a few will succeed in fleeing into Madhyadeśa.

At this point the text launches into the familiar Kauśāmbī story, but here with a striking difference: now the three evil kings are not the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians, but the Persians (*stag-gzig* ~ *ta-zig*), Turks (*drug-gu* ~ *dru-gu*), and Tibetans (*bod*)![182] The story follows the account given in the Tibetan *Candragabha* prophecy quite closely, though with somewhat less detail. King Mahendrasena is not mentioned, but the circumstances surrounding the birth of his son Dusprasaha[183] are the same, as are the

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179 Cf. above, n. 168. Here we have no reference to Taoism, however, but only to the general strife and suffering experienced by Buddhist monks in China (Tib. *skye-bo dang rtsod-pa'i dus de'i tshe rgya-yul-gyi dge-slong-rnams kyang shin-tu sdug-bsngal-bas gzir-nas yul Gan-dha-rar 'gro-bar 'gyur-ro* //, Derge ed., 165b3-4).

180 Here the text stresses that among their ranks are a number of young monks, who prove to be excellent fighters.

181 Tib. *stod-po*; the corresponding Chinese text has *hsi*, "western." On the meaning of the terms *stod* and *stod-phyogs* in Old Tibetan texts see Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, pp. 203-205.

182 The inclusion of the Tibetans among the three "evil powers" should be sufficient evidence in itself to demonstrate that this work is not a Tibetan composition.

183 Here translated as *Bzod-dka'*, "hard to tolerate."

results of his campaigns against the three invading kings – their complete and total annihilation. Once again the king regrets the suffering he has caused and is advised to invite Śisyaka (here, as in the *Candragarbha* group, spelled with an internal *r*, Tib. *Shir-sha-ka*) to come from Pāṭaliputra. The preceptor urges him to atone for his deeds by inviting all the monks of Jambudvīpa to come to Kauśāmbī, and the king follows his advice. The text notes that 100,000 monks will arrive in Kauśāmbī (there is no mention here, however, of the harm suffered by some of them along the way). Then, on the evening of the fifteenth day, the *poṣadha* ceremony is held, and the familiar conflict between Śisyaka and Sūrata[184] breaks out. Sūrata is killed by Śisyaka's student, Aṅgada (Narthang *A-gna-bi*, Derge *A-kan-bi*[185]), who again wields a door-bolt as a weapon; Aṅgada in turn is killed by Sūrata's disciple *Kedāra.[186] The monks all become enraged and kill one another, and when the battle is over the *trayastriṃsa* gods will bemoan their deaths and will carry off their monastic robes, hair and nails. And various ill omens will appear.

In the morning the king, seeing all the monks lying dead, will weep and lament their deaths, calling out to the arhat and the *tripiṭaka* master by name. "Now that you are both dead," he will cry, "this world is become desolate."

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184 Spelled *Su-ta-ra* [*sic*] in the Derge edition (vol. 94, 167b5).

185 For the reference to the Narthang spelling see Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol., 1, p. 68 and n. 1. Thomas reconstructs an original Indian form "Agnāvī" (*loc. cit.*). For the Derge see vol. 94, 167b6. The name has suffered serious deformation in transmission; cf. however Khot. *Aṃ-ggadī* found in the *Book of Zambasta* (Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 8).

186 Spelled *Ka-ra-ta* in both Derge and Narthang editions. The Narthang edition reads *ngag-slong ka-ra-ta*, "the grammarian Karata" according to Thomas (*op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 3). The term *ngag-slong* ངག་སློང་ is clearly a carving error for *dge-slong* དགེ་སློང་ "monk," which appears correctly in the Derge edition (167b7). On the reconstruction of this name see above, pp. 67-68, n. 135.

Then the gods will flee, "defeated by the asuras," and various plants, types of cloth, and precious metals will disappear. Fine colors and flavors will also perish, and the images of the Buddha will be carried off by the *nāgas*.

The text then closes with an intriguing chronological note: "from the time that calculations were made by an assembly of Pandits during the reign of King Rje-btsan-legs of Khotan until the disappearance of the Dharma, there will be 102 years."[187]

In broad terms, then, it is fair to describe the *Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana* as a faithful representation of the plot of the original Kauśāmbī story, but with an important shift in the cast of characters. By naming the three evil kings as the Persians,[188] Turks and Tibetans, the text has introduced a wholesale shift in perspective to the point of view of an inhabitant of the Tarim Basin during the period of contention among these three powers, i.e., during the late 7th/early 8th centuries C.E..[189] Moreover, the text agrees with the *Prophecy of Khotan* (and with the *Religious Annals of Khotan*, to be discussed immediately below) in associating the Kauśāmbī story with the fate of a group of monks and nuns from Khotan. In one important respect, however, both the *Prophecy of Khotan* and the *Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana* agree with earlier versions of the story: both texts treat the events at Kauśāmbī as the final disappearance of

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187 Tib. *Li yul-gyi mkhan-po-rnams 'dus-nas li rje-btsun legs-kyi ring-la yos-bu'i lo-la brtsis-nas de-nas lo brgya-rtsa-gnyis-na dam-pa'i chos nub-par 'gyur-ro//* (Derge ed., 168b1; Narthang id.)

188 By "Persians" (Tib. *stag-gzig ~ ta-zig*) we may assume that the Arab Umayyad dynasty, which included the territory of Persia, is meant.

189 For a detailed and up-to-date study of the interactions of these three powers, based on extensive use of primary sources (including those written in Tibetan), see Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, especially pp. 27-146.

Buddhism on earth, and end their accounts on this clearly pessimistic note. The chronological calculations that conclude the *Saṃghavardhana* account serve only to reinforce the general sense that the ultimate disappearance of the Dharma, and the timetable according to which it will occur, are unalterable.

In the following account, however, the Kauśāmbī story does not serve as the conclusion of the text. Rather, we find (as in the Chinese version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*) that it is followed by an additional section, in which its authors stress not the eventual disappearance of the Dharma, but various measures which can be taken for its preservation. In this text – which I believe represents the latest of this group – we see the complete adjustment of the tradition to fit the Khotanese context, an adjustment which involves a withdrawal from the finality of decline (as presented in earlier versions of the story) toward a more Mahāyānistic, and relativistic, attitude toward history.

3. ***Li-yul chos-kyi lo-rgyus*** ("The Religious Annals of Khotan"): not included in the Tibetan canon; the text is known from a single manuscript copy from Tun-huang.[190] Like the *Saṃghavardhana* prophecy, the *Religious Annals of Khotan* relates the Kauśāmbī story in considerable detail; but like the *Prophecy of Khotan*, it mentions explicitly that the *Candragarbha* prophecy is one of its sources. The text concludes, in fact, with a colophon stating that the work is "a mere epitome, newly translated by the preceptor *mo-rgu-bde-shil*,[191] from the texts of the Dharma-sūtras

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[190] Pelliot no. 960. An edition of the text and glossary of vocabulary is given in Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, pp. 78-91 (text) and 93-160 (glossary). The only available English translation is the by now quite outdated version given by Thomas in *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 305-323.

[191] The term *mo-rgu-bde-shil* (more frequently *mo-rgu-de-shi* or *mo-rgu-bde-shi*) represents the Tibetan transcription of the Khotanese religious title *mārgaupadeśai* (for

Sūryagarbha, *Candragarbha*, and *Vimala[prabhāpari]pṛcchā*."[192] (Note that this is the only one of the texts treated in this section that states explicitly that it is a translation.) As with all the texts in this category, the manuscript gives no indication of the date of its composition or translation. Since the text again deals with events known to have taken place during the reign of Mes-'ag-tshoms, however, we may again assume that the original was composed no earlier than the second half of the 8th century C.E.

The text begins at a much earlier point in the history of Khotan than do the other two works discussed above – in fact, the opening section deals with the original introduction of Buddhism to Khotan. The introduction of an alphabet, followed by the Buddhist religion, is described, followed by a section detailing the construction of various stūpas and monasteries. At this point the text shifts backwards in time, describing the foundation of the land of Khotan itself, which is said to be due to the drying up of a lake which resulted from its penetration by the staffs of Śāriputra and Vaiśramaṇa during the time of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni.

The account then moves forward again, relating the arrival of the first

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which see H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, vol. 4, pp. 87-88) < Skt. **mārgopadeśaka-* (according to Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, p. 102b). The term is defined as *lam ston-pa*, "way-shower," in another text translated by Emmerick (*Tibetan Texts*, p. 30, 178b1-2). The form in *-l*, which seems to occur only in the *Religious Annals of Khotan*, has not yet been satisfactorily explained, though Emmerick's suggestion that the final *-l* is due to a false association with BHS *śīla-* "moral restraint" (*Tibetan Texts*, p. 102b) is at least plausible. (Cf. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 307, n. 3 for the suggestion that this spelling reflects a local Chinese pronunciation.) The fact that the translator of our text held this title (not, as Emmerick suggests on p. 102b, a personal name) strongly suggests that the translation in question was made from a Khotanese original.

192 Tib. *dar-ma mdo-sde su-rya-ga-rba dang / tsan-dra-ga-rba dang / bye-ma-la-pri-tsa'i gzhung-las mdo-tsam-zhig / mkhan-po mo-rgu-bde-shil-gyis / gsar-du bsgyuro //* (see Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, p. 91, lines 113-114). For an English translation of the *Vimalaprabhāparipṛcchā-sūtra* see Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 179-258; as Thomas points out (*op. cit.*, p. 139) the text is certainly a Khotanese composition, though no Khotanese original survives. The *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* (Peking no. 923, Derge no. 257, Narthang no. 242, Lhasa no. 258; cf. T. no. 397[13] and [14]) has not yet been translated into English.

king of Khotan, a son of king Aśoka of India, and his temporary adoption by the emperor of China.[193] This is followed by a list of the eight major tutelary deities of Khotan, the eight "self-originated bodhisattvas" said to be resident in Khotan, and a brief description of the principles followed by adherents of the Mahāyāna, on the one hand, and the *śrāvakas* on the other.[194] (The account here emphasizes the predominance of the Mahāyāna contingent over the "Hīnayānists.")

Once again the time frame shifts dramatically, as the text now looks into the distant future when Khotan will again become a lake. This is expected to happen, we are told, when the ten *karmapatha*s (i.e., the basic moral principles)[195] are no longer practiced. In the even more distant future, when the future Buddha Maitreya appears in the world, the lake will again dry up and will offer a place for the worship of Maitreya and his retinue. Then the text interposes a peculiar line: "This *Prophecy of the Li Country* (*yul li-yul-gyi lung-bstan 'di*)," we are told, "is not even to be handled by common people." The text goes on to extol the merits that come from even hearing, let alone reading, the text. In fact the extant version of the *Prophecy of [the Arhat of] Khotan* does end with a prediction of Maitreya's advent; it is possible that at least one recension of that text also

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193 As Sir Aurel Stein has pointed out in *Ancient Khotan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 158, this legendary account (and the similar story that occurs in Hsüan-tsang's travel account) correctly reflects the combination of Indian and Chinese elements in early Khotanese culture.

194 The Mahāyānists are said to follow the principles (lit. "enter the door," *sgor 'jug*) of non-conceptualization (*rnam-par myi-rtog-pa*) and *śūraṃgama-samādhi* (lines 39-40), while the *śrāvaka*s adhere to the four [noble] truths (line 40).

195 The ten are: three pertaining to the body (not killing, not stealing, not indulging in sexual misconduct), four to the power of speech (not lying, not slandering, not using harsh speech, and not indulging in frivolous talk), and three to the mind (not falling prey to envy, hatred, or false views).

added a few lines extolling its own merits, and that those lines were copied directly into the "epitome" recorded here. In any case, the *Religious Annals* then turns to what has served as the main subject matter of the other two texts examined above: the decline of Buddhism in Khotan, and the flight of a group of Khotanese monks to Tibet. As in the accounts we have already examined, a group of monks from other cities in the Tarim Basin[196] arrive in Khotan, only to find that the people of Khotan at that time are "without faith in the True Dharma," and show contempt (and in particular, a lack of financial support) toward the saṃgha. After the usual meeting at Tsar-ma monastery, the assembled monks decide to set out for Tibet, where the emperor is said to have great faith in Buddhism. Vaiśravaṇa and Śrī-Mahādevī once again appear to offer assistance to the wanderers, and the majority of the group arrives safely in Tibet.

The immigrant monks enjoy a period of asylum in Tibet for twelve years, according to this version (cf. the three-year period cited in the other texts. After the death of the Chinese consort, however, the popular mood shifts to an anti-Buddhist position, and the monks are expelled from from the cou. They then set out for Gandhāra, and at this point the text turns to the narration of the Kauśāmbī story.

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196 The text actually reads "*all* the monks" (Tib. *stod-kyi mkhar bzhi'i dge-'dun-rnams ril-kyis*, lit. "all the saṃghas of the four fortified cities of *stod*"). According to Beckwith *stod-kyi mkhar bzhi* is to be understood as a reference to the the Four Garrisons (*ssu chen*) established by T'ang China in the Tarim Basin region (Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, p. 204, 3d; note that the page reference given there is a misprint, and should be corrected to read "R. Emmerick, 1967:84 [lines 49-50]"). Beckwith's assessment may well be correct; it is also possible, however, that *stod-kyi mkhar bzhi* is the result of a transmission error for an earlier *thod-dkar bzhi* (for Tib. *thod-dkar* see P. Kvaerne, *AOH* 34 [1980], p. 101, and J. Bacot and F. W. Thomas, *Documents de Touen-houang* [Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1940], p. 83). This expression would parallel exactly the phrase "the four *tokhri*" still preserved in 9th-century Sogdian texts as *ctβ'r twγr'k* (in Sogdian script) and *ch'r twγryst*[*n*] "country of the four *tokhri*" (in Manichaean script); see W. B. Henning, *BSOS* 9 [1938], p. 550-551. The same expression has been identified by Henning (*op. cit.*, p. 551) in an Uighur text as well (*twyrt twγry*). In either case, it is certain that in the present instance the territory of the Tarim Basin is meant.

Two things are immediately striking about the account of the events at Kauśāmbī found in the *Religious Annals of Khotan*: first, the high degree of deformation in virtually all the proper names (a feature indicative of the story's transmission through at least three separate languages), and second, the new set of ethnonyms associated with the three evil kings. As in the *Saṃghavardhana* prophecy, we have here a list that has been reformulated to reflect the concerns of an inhabitant of Khotan, but at a slightly later time period than the one just considered. Now the kings are identified with the Chinese (*rgya*), the Tibetans (*bod*) and the Uighurs (*hor*),[197] a list that would suggest a date of composition not earlier than the late 8th/early 9th century.[198]

The story resembles that given in the *Saṃghavardhana* prophecy quite closely, so much so that it is not necessary to recapitulate the story here. We should note, however, that each of these two texts contains certain details not found in the other, and thus neither work (as it stands) can be directly derived from the other. Of particular interest are the forms of the names and the epithets of the major characters given in the *Religious Annals*. The king of Kauśāmbī is here named *'Dre-spe-sad* (*sic*, for Skt. *Dusprasaha*), and is described as the son of *Man-'dre-seng-ge* (< *Mahendrasena*). Śisyaka's name again appears with the intrusive *r* typical of the *Candragarbha* group in general (Tib. *Shir-zhag* ~ *Zhir-shag*), and it is of particular interest that he is given the title *dri-bi-le* (~ *dir-bi-le*), a Tibetan transcription of the Khotanese title *ttrṛvīlei* "*tripiṭaka* master," which serves as yet another indication that

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[197] For the term *hor* "Uighur" see above, p. 81, n. 161.

[198] The Uighurs first become a factor in the struggle for control of the Tarim Basin in the 760s. For a detailed account of the Uighur, Chinese and Tibetan roles in this contest see Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, especially pp. 146-172.

the text is a translation from the Khotanese.[199] Śisyaka's pupil Aṅgada has become *Ang-ghan*, the *yakṣa* Dadhimukha has been transformed into *'Dra-dha-mu-ka*, and Sūrata's name is unexpectedly spelled with a final *-g* (Tib. *Su-rag*).[200] Clearly this recension is the end-product of a long chain of copying (and miscopying) of the text. The variation in the name of Śisyaka – which appears as both *Shir-zhag* and *Zhir-shag*, spellings which are more similar in sound than in appearance – suggests further that at least some of this transmission may have been via dictation.

The account does not end, however, with the death of the monks at Kauśāmbī. Rather, the text goes on to consider other issues as well: first an enumeration of the various guardian spirits and images appointed by the Buddha to preserve the Dharma in Khotan, then a prescription for dealing with threats of war, invasion and strife (the believer is instructed to read the the *dhāraṇīs* from the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Vimalaprabhāparipṛcchā*). The text then turns to a very different topic: the story of Shi-ri-dan, treasurer to an Indian king, who meets a group of Sogdian[201] merchants looking for a victim for a human sacrifice and offers his own body to spare other potential victims. Shi-ri-dan is saved from his fate by divine intervention and goes on to become in future incarnations a *nāga* king, then an arhat, then (one

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199 On this term see Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts*, p. 132a.

200 Not **Ra-su-rag*, as read by Thomas (*Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 316); apparently (judging from Emmerick's edition of the text) Thomas mistook the last character of the previous word as part of the name of Sūrata. Once again this spelling offers evidence of transmission of its antecedent in the Kharoṣṭhī script: the Tibetan letters *ta* ཏ་ and *ga* ག་ do not resemble one another at all, but it is easy to see how a Kharoṣṭhī-script final *-ta* 𐨟 could have been misread as *-ga* 𐨒 (see the chart by Rapson in A. M. Boyer et al., eds., *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*). From here it is straightforward to reconstruct an original final *-a* in the Tibetan, omitted in copying through the inadvertent omission of the syllable-dividing dot (·).

201 Tib. *sog-dag*.

wonders at the spiritual trajectory implied here) a *nāga* king again. Finally he receives a prediction to future Buddhahood from Śākyamuni, an event that demonstrates the underlying Mahāyāna attitude behind the story.

The text concludes on what would seem (in light of the dire predictions contained in the Kauśāmbī story) to be an inordinately optimistic note: having enumerated the population of the various monasteries in the country of Khotan, the text concludes by saying that "even now there are dwelling among those saṃghas many bodhisattvas, who manifest themselves acting in various ways to bring about the benefit of sentient beings."[202] The Kauśāmbī story has now been relegated to the background: it is still perhaps an important element of the received Buddhist tradition, but is no longer viewed as having the last word on the fate of Buddhism in Khotan.

It is not altogether clear, in fact, whether the Kauśāmbī story is here being treated as a prophecy at all. The text styles itself not a prophecy (Tib. *lung-bstan-pa*) but a "religious annals" (*chos-kyi lo-rgyus*), and the story is consistently related in the past tense. It is striking, in fact – and I believe significant – that this text is the *only* version of the Kauśāmbī story (with the exception of the prose edition of the *Kātyāyana* prophecy, which may well be defective in this regard) that offers no timetable at all for the decline of the Dharma. It is possible, though not certain, that the composer of this text believed that the Dharma had in fact already died out in the city of Kauśāmbī – but not yet in his own homeland of Khotan.

In summary, the "late Khotanese adapatations" all exhibit a clear reliance (made explicit in two of the three texts) on a version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* current in the Tarim Basin at the time. They all

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[202] Tib. *da-ltar yang dge-'dun de-dag-gi nang-na yang // byang-cub-sems-pa* [sic] *thabs-kyis rol-cing sems-shan*[*sic*]*-gyi don mdzad-cing sprul-pa yang mang-du bzhugs-so.*

go beyond the content of that text (or at least of any extant version of it), however, in associating the Kauśāmbī story with the fortunes of Buddhism in the Khotan. In so doing two of the three texts alter the names of the three evil kings to reflect the names of foreign powers threatening Khotan during the late 7th-early 9th centuries, and in relating the flight of a group of Khotanese monks and nuns into Tibet offer information that allows us to date all three works to a period no earlier than the second half of the 8th century. Finally, though only one of the three (the *Religious Annals of Khotan*) explicitly states that it is a translation from some other (unspecified) language, all three texts offer considerable internal evidence that they are translations based on Khotanese originals. Though they are preserved only in Tibetan,[202] these texts offer us a unique window into some of the religious (and political) concerns of the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin in the 8th-9th centuries.

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[203] The two canonical texts presumably exist in Mongolian translations as well, though the relevant volumes of the catalogue to the Mongolian Tanjur have not yet appeared. For the first three volumes in the series see Rintchen, *Catalogue du tanǰur mongol imprimé* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1964-).

8. Overview: Origins and Transmission of the Story

As we have seen, the Kauśāmbī story appears in a wide variety of sources, and has been told in a number of different ways. At this point we may pause to take stock of the varieties of this tradition, and to see what can be discerned about the interrelationships among the versions of the story discussed above.

Two elements in these texts allow us to analyze these relationships: first, the individual components of the plot itself, which vary considerably from one version of the story to another; and second, the transcriptions (or in other cases, translations) of proper names. Taken together, these two types of information can provide us with sufficient evidence to construct a lineage chart, or stemma, depicting the relationships among these texts.

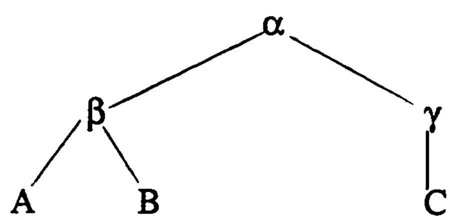
In devising the chart given below I have followed the methodology used by scholars in Greek and Latin studies to establish the critical edition of a text, as outlined in the standard discussion by Paul Maas.[203] This approach is intended primarily for use in reconstructing the original version of a single text of which multiple copies exist, each exhibiting minor variants, additions and deletions. In the present case, however, we have not multiple copies of a single work, but widely differing recensions of a given story. With some adjustments, however, the same methodology can still be applied, and this procedure will allow us to determine with reasonable certainty the relationships among the extant versions of the story.

The methodology employed here is the following. Any element found in one or more versions of the text, but not in all versions, can be used to sort the

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203 Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

texts into family groups. For example, if two versions of the text (which we may call A and B) share a peculiar feature – e.g., the spelling of a proper name – that is not found in any other recension of the story, we may assume (unless other evidence argues to the contrary) that A and B are descended from a common ancestor. If these texts further share another feature (e.g., a distinctive element in the plot) with a third text (C), and this element is not found in any other version of the story, we may assume that these three recensions are related as follows:



(Here, following the procedure used by Maas, I have used lower-case Greek letters to indicate versions of the text that have not survived.) By extending this approach to the other texts in the group, we can derive a diagram depicting the chain of textual transmission of the group as a whole.

In deciding which of any two given variants is to be preferred (that is, is closer to the original), classical textual criticism applies two basic principles: first, when deciding between a shorter and a longer rendition the shorter is generally the better; and second, the more difficult of any two readings is to be preferred. The first of these principles is based on the assumption that a scribe is more likely to embellish a text (in particular, to add what he sees as helpful explanatory material) than to omit a portion of the text. The second follows a similar line of reasoning; here it is assumed that a scribe may try to clarify an obscure or seemingly corrupt expression by "correcting" it,

resulting in a more accessible (but less original) formulation.

There are, of course, certain exceptions to these general rules, and in particular to the first one. In certain cases a scribe may consciously or unconsciously omit material from the text: where a text contains repetitive expressions, for example, the scribe's eye may jump from one occurrence of a common phrase to the next, resulting in the omission of all the material between the two. Such omissions can also be deliberate: in some instances the requirements of new political, geographical, or doctrinal circumstances, differing from those under which the text was first composed, may lead the scribe to make conscious changes in the text. To say that these are conscious, of course, need not imply that the scribe is being deliberately deceptive; he may only see his emendations as restoring what the text *must* originally have said. Whatever his motives, however, the net result is the same: the removal of offending material from the text, and in some cases its replacement by an alternative passage.[204]

In establishing a family tree of versions of the Kauśāmbī story, then, I have applied these principles as follows: (1) a shorter rendition of the story is presumed to be older than a longer one, *unless* it can be shown that the author (or editor) of the shorter version would have had a reasonable motive for deleting material found in previous versions of the text; and (2) a complex but coherent version of the plot is presumed to be older than one in which the story has been overly, and artificially, rationalized (via extraneous explanations, symmetrical or standardized numbers, and relentless parallelism); a genuinely chaotic account, by contrast, is assumed to represent a degenerate

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[204] For a useful discussion of the types of errors that can occur in textual transmission see Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 186-206.

version of an earlier and more coherent text.

There are, however, a few cases in which the application of these principles will not enable us to fit a given version of the Kauśāmbī story within the stemma constructed below. First, an author may deliberately condense a text in order to fit it within the parameters of a specific literary form, in the process omitting material that would have allowed us to determine the ancestry of his version of the text. Second, an author (or editor) may make use of more than one version of the story in preparing his own recension. And finally – since we are dealing not merely with the copying of manuscripts, but with much more extensive developments in a literary tradition – we must also take into consideration the possibility that oral versions of the story may have influenced written ones, and vice versa. In such cases the trajectory of a given version of the story will be extremely difficult to trace, and much of its ancestry may be impossible to reconstruct.

Of the fourteen versions of the Kauśāmbī story discussed above, only two have proved impossible to place within the stemma given below. The first of these, the account preserved in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, has apparently suffered from two of the three types of alteration just described: the author has clearly consulted a number of different versions of the story in the process of compiling his synopsis, and has further reduced the scope of the story to fit within the stylistic requirements of abhidharma literature.[205] The resulting recension lacks important elements found in *all* other versions of the text, while simultaneously including other items which occur nowhere else. It is thus impossible to reconstruct the precise connection between the

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[205] For a discussion of the stylistic exigencies of the abhidharma genre see above, pp. 30-31.

Mahāvibhāṣā account and the other extant versions of the story.

The other case for which we have insufficient data is the story contained in the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra*. Here the plot is so brief and contains so few details and proper names that we simply do not have enough evidence to determine its precise connection with the other texts. This may well be an example of the re-recording of the story in written form after a period of oral circulation, during which many of the more complex elements of the story would have been omitted.[206]

Having eliminated the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* and the *Mahāvibhāṣā* from consideration, however, the remaining texts can be sorted into "families" with little difficulty. In the chart given below I have provided the names of the extant texts themselves (rather than Roman letters, as in the examples given by Maas) in order to minimize cross-referencing. The Greek letters, by contrast, indicate versions of the text which have not survived, but whose content can be reconstructed with some certainty on the basis of the extant exemplars. For each of these I have given a synopsis of its distinctive content (i.e., those variants of which it is the carrier), literary style, and – where these can be determined – its probable language and sectarian affiliation.

[206] The one text with which the Kauśāmbī story found in the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* can plausibly be connected is the brief synopsis of the story found in one of the Chinese translations of the (Mahāyāna) *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T. No. 374, 12.473c14-474a5). In both of these versions the *tripiṭaka* master (i.e., Śiṣyaka) is described as having five hundred followers, a feature found in no other version of the text.

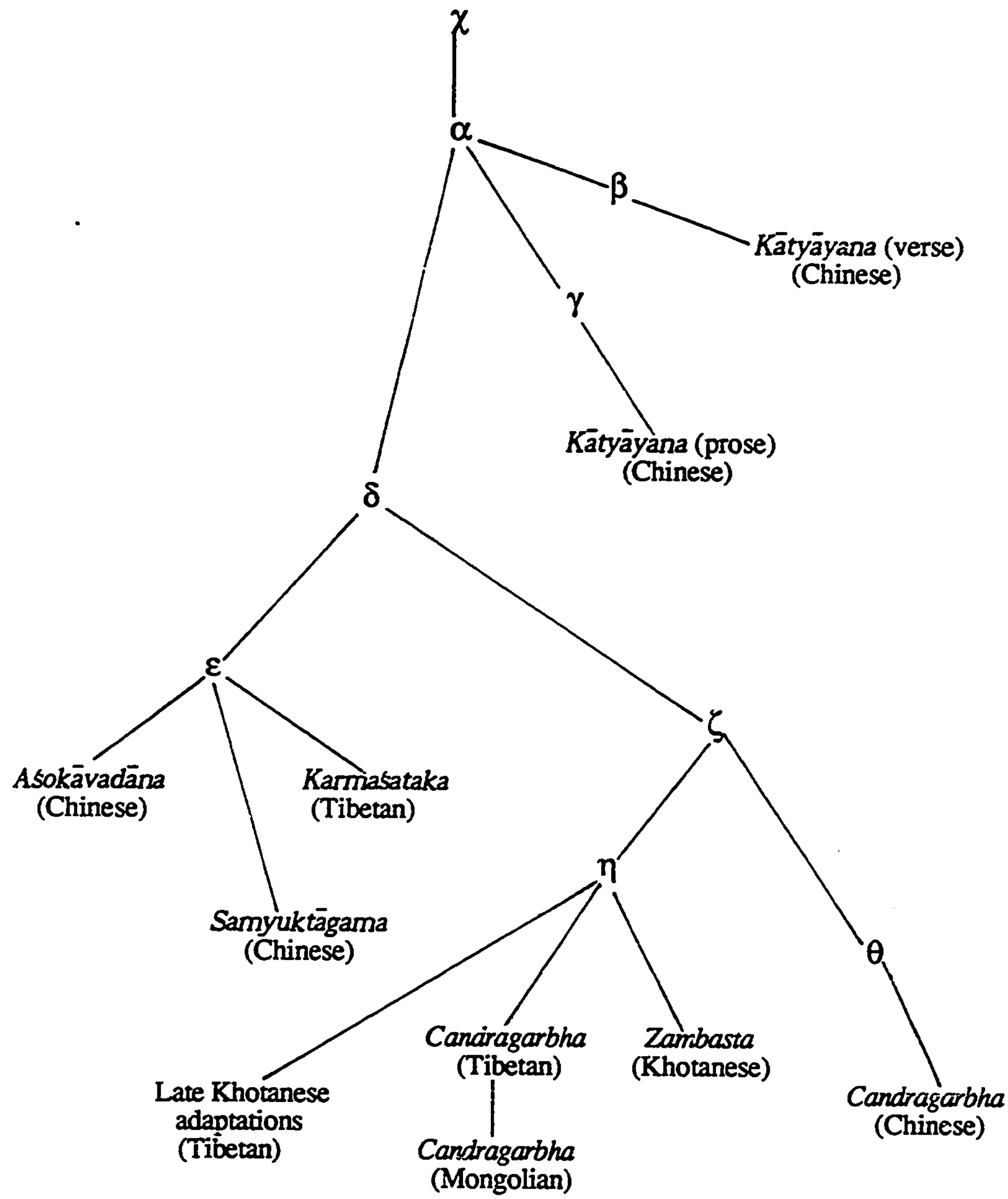


Figure 2. The Kauśāmbī Story: Textual Transmission

DESCRIPTION OF THE RECONSTRUCTED ARCHETYPE AND HYPARCHETYPES[207]

χ = The original (presumably oral) version of the Kauśāmbī story, for which no independent evidence is available.

α = The reconstructed archetype to which all other versions of the text can be traced. Three foreign kings (the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians) are named as the cause of disruption within the Indian Buddhist community. A pious Buddhist king (unnamed), ruling at Kauśāmbī, invites all the monks of Jambudvīpa to a *mahādāna* feast at the suggestion of his advisor, the monk Śisyaka. A dispute then breaks out between an arhat, Sūrata, who insists on strict observance of all monastic rules, and a group of more complacent monks; Sūrata is killed by a disciple of Śisyaka, who in turn is killed by a *yakṣa*.
Not considered a canonical text (that is, *buddhavacana*); attributed to the monk Kātyāyana.
Style: probably entirely in verse.
Language: probably a northwest (e.g., Gāndhārī) Prākrit, in the Kharoṣṭhī script.
Sectarian affinity: uncertain.

β = A Bactrian recension (not, however, in the Bactrian language[208]), similar to α but with the names "Greeks, Sakas and Parthians" changed

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207 In the terminology used by Maas "archetype" refers only to that exemplar (lost or surviving) from which the first split in textual transmission originated. This exemplar is free from all errors (including accretions and editorial amplifications) arising after the split. The term "hyparchetype," by contrast, is used to refer to all intermediary exemplars, or "variant carriers," to which one or more descendants can be assigned. The letter χ is assigned to the assumed original text, the archetype itself is designated by the letter α, and all subsequent hyparchetypes are designated by β, γ, etc. For further details see Maas, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 2-5.

208 Despite ample evidence of the presence of Buddhism in Bactria over a period of several centuries, there is no indication that any Buddhist scriptures were ever set down in writing in the Bactrian language (or for that matter in any of the vernacular langauges of western [now Soviet] Central Asia). It appears rather that in during the first four or five centuries C.E. Buddhist scriptures were transmitted across Central Asia to China only in

to read "Rome, Iran and Parthians."
Style: entirely in verse.
Language: presumably northwest Prākrit, in the Kharoṣṭhī script.
Sectarian affinity: uncertain.

γ = A somewhat garbled recension of α with a few additional details, including the mention of 250 monastic rules.
Style: either entirely in prose or entirely in verse.[209]
Language: presumably northwest Prākrit, in the Kharoṣṭhī script.
Sectarian affinity: Dharmaguptaka.

δ = An amplified version of α. The king of Kauśāmbī is now given the name Mahendrasena, and an additional character, his son Duṣprasaha, is introduced. The intra-saṃgha conflict is now portrayed as a dispute between Sūrata and Śiṣyaka; in the ensuing melée not only Sūrata and his assailant (here, and possibly in α, named "Aṅgada") are killed, but Śiṣyaka as well. *Kātyāyana's name is removed* as the text moves toward acceptance as a canonical work, and the entire discourse is placed in the mouth of the Buddha.
Style: entirely in verse.
Language: presumably Prākrit, in the Kharoṣṭhī script.
Sectarian affinity: uncertain.

ε = Similar to δ, but with several new elements: a group of five hundred lay disciples is portrayed as criticizing monastic laxity; king Mahendrasena dies, causing a period of depression on the part of his son Duṣprasaha;

Indian languages (Sanskrit and Prakrit), and that only subsequently – from the second half of the millennium onwards – such scriptures were rendered into the local Central Asian vernaculars, and then only in eastern Central Asia (modern Sinkiang). For a detailed discussion see Jan Nattier, "Church Language and Vernacular Language in Central Asia," to be submitted to Numen.

[209] The complex style of much of Indian poetry, together with the common practice of giving no indication of the end of each line (or verse) in written texts, sometimes led to the inadvertent rendering of Indian poetry into prose translations in other languages. This happens less frequently, however, when the Indian original consists of a mixture of prose and verse, since it is a common practice in these texts to set the verse off from the prose in a recognizable fashion.

and following the conflict between Śisyaka and Sūrata, Dusprasaha himself turns against the saṃgha, killing monks and destroying Buddhist monuments.

Style: mixed prose and verse.

Language: Sanskrit (or Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit).

Sectarian affinity: Sarvāstivāda.

ζ = Another adaptation of δ, but here *all* the monks of Jambudvīpa are portrayed as being killed in the conflict at Kauśāmbī. Śisyaka's name has been altered (or misunderstood) as *Śirṣaka (or *Śīrṣaka), and an interlocutor named Candragarbha is added.

Style: entirely in verse.

Language: northwest Prākrit (in Kharoṣṭhī script).

Sectarian affinity: uncertain. Possibly transmitted in Mahāyāna circles.

η = Similar to ζ, but the word *Śaka* has been altered (deliberately?) to read *Śakuna*. Directional locations of the three foreign kings are omitted, and Kauśāmbī is placed in the south, not the east.

Style: uncertain; possibly entirely in prose.

Language: northwest Prākrit (in Kharoṣṭhī script).

Sectarian affinity: uncertain, but circulating in Mahāyāna circles in Khotan.

θ = A Mahāyāna adaptation of ζ, with additional proto-tantric elements (*dhāraṇī*). The entire story is now incorporated into a Mahāyāna text titled the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, and additional (Mahāyāna-oriented) materials are introduced as a frame for the Kauśāmbī story itself.

Style: in verse, with a brief prose introduction and an extended prose conclusion.

Language: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.

Sectarian affinity: Mahāyāna.

What, then, can we learn from the construction of such a stemma? In classical textual scholarship, of course, the objective is to restore a given text to a form as close to that of the original as possible. Given the far-flung nature of our sources, however – preserved in Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese and Mongolian, but not in what must have been the original Sanskrit or Prakrit – our objective must be much more modest. What we can attempt to do on the basis of the data compiled above is the following: (1) to determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy the form of the original (no doubt oral) version of the story; (2) to identify the sectarian environment within which the story first arose, or at the very least to eliminate certain environments from consideration; and (3) to discover whether any important shifts in the content and context of the story have taken place during the course of its transmission.

Beginning with the first of these issues, the stemma constructed above allows us to reconstruct the original tale as a rather simple story – and one not very flattering to the Buddhist community. Eliminating those elements which we can be reasonably sure were added at a later date, we are left with the story of an unnamed king ruling at Kauśāmbī who successfully repels a foreign invasion. At the suggestion of his Buddhist advisor, the preceptor Śiṣyaka, the king then invites the monks from surrounding regions to Kauśāmbī for a religious feast. When these monks come together, however, certain differences in their traditions – more specifically, in the degree of their adherence to the monastic rules – begin to surface. Ultimately this leads to an open and violent conflict, in the course of which a monk named Sūrata – widely acknowledged as an arhat – is killed by Śiṣyaka's student Aṅgada, who believes that the honor of his teacher has been impugned. Since the crime of killing an arhat cannot go unpunished, a *yakṣa* appears to avenge the arhat's death, killing Aṅgada on the spot. This would appear to be the

end of the story in its original version. No other monks, in this primitive version, are killed, and the response of the king to this debacle is not revealed. The focus of the story is on Aṅgada's heinous crime of killing an arhat, and on the immediate retribution he receives.

The story is, of course, associated with a prediction of the end of the Dharma even in its earliest surviving recensions. But was this a part of the original tale? Or might the original story simply have been the narration of an actual historical event, which – despite its manifestly uninspiring content – was simply too vivid a memory to forget?

In favor of the latter hypothesis is the fact that the proper names of the main characters – the king's preceptor Śiṣyaka, the arhat Sūrata, and his assailant Aṅgada – are all quite specific (and remain consistent, allowing for a certain amount of deformation in transmission, throughout all extant recensions of the story), as we might expect in an account dealing with actual historical characters. Moreover, with the exception of the name "Śiṣyaka" (which is really more an epithet than a proper name) these names are rather unusual. Were this an entirely fanciful account concocted to illustrate a point, one might expect its creator to have chosen names that were either more common (and thus more accessible) or more explicitly didactic in their content. And if the story had originated as a general prediction of the demise of the Dharma, one wonders if it would have contained any such proper names at all. Would not a straightforward account of a battle in which all the monks of Jambudvīpa are killed, rather than an ambiguous story of the assassination of a single arhat (following which the rest of the monastic community, with the exception of his assailant, is still left alive), have served the purpose better?

In this connection a point well worth our attention is the stance of the

narrator himself, which is implicit but quite identifiable in both the early and later versions of the story. Of the two factions – the supporters of Sūrata, on the one hand, and of Śiṣyaka on the other – it seems clear that the narrator exhibits a preference for the former. No criticism of the arhat (or his followers) appears in any extant recension of the story, while in even the earliest versions it is suggested that the preceptor Śiṣyaka (or an anonymous group of monks, in the verse *Prediction of Kātyāyana*) can be faulted for a lack of rigorous adherence to the teachings. Most revealing, however, is the identity of the figure who avenges the arhat's death. Aṅgada (Sūrata's murderer) is killed not by one of the arhat's own students – which might allow the reader to find fault with this faction – but by a character introduced from outside, as it were, and a non-human one at that. The killing of Aṅgada by a *vajra*-wielding *yakṣa*[210] thus serves the dual purpose of avenging the grievous crime of arhaticide while simultaneously diverting any guilt for that act of vengeance away from the arhat's own following.

It is possible, then – though this must remain speculative – that the origins of the Kauśāmbī story are to be sought in an actual historical event, as told by a member of the pro-Sūrata faction. Only later, perhaps, was the story shifted into the future and brought into conjunction with a prophecy of the end of the Dharma.

To return to the story as we have it, however – that is, the Kauśāmbī story in the form of a decline prophecy – what can we say about the sectarian origins of the tale? First of all, based on the results of the stemma given above we can say with complete certainty that the original story was not a Mahāyāna composition. This is quite clear from the location of the

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[210] Or are we to take the term *vajra* here simply in its original sense of "thunderbolt," and to understand that Aṅgada was struck dead by lightning on the spot?

Mahāyāna recensions of the story (which constitute a distinct minority) in the diagram: these are all found toward the bottom of the stemma, and thus are the farthest removed from the original text. Turning to the non-Mahāyāna candidates, the fact that several extant versions of the story can be attributed with confidence to the Sarvāstivāda school[211] might suggest that the tradition originated in a Sarvāstivādin environment. Here again, however, the results of the stemma would suggest caution, for these versions are clustered suspiciously close to one another in a single branch of the stemma. Thus it is possible that the adoption of the story by the Sarvāstivādins took place only at the level of hyparchetype ε (from which all extant Sarvāstivāda versions are derived), and not at a point closer to its origins.

Other possibilities are rather limited. The Kauśāmbī story is conspicuous by its absence from the voluminous Theravādin sources; thus this school is certainly not a candidate. Aside from the Sarvāstivāda, the only school for which we have a known recension of the story is the Dharmaguptaka school (to which the prose *Prediction of Kātyāyana* can be attributed).[212] And the evidence cited above for the transmission of the story across Central Asia in the Kharoṣṭhī script suggests that we should pay particular attention to this possibility, since the Dharmaguptaka is one of the two schools (the other being the Mahāsaṃghika) known to have used the Kharoṣṭhī script by preference in that region.[213]

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211 Known Sarvāstivāda recensions are those found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (Chinese), the *Aśoka-avadāna* (Chinese), and the *Karmaśataka* (Tibetan).

212 This information must be used with caution, however, since the mention of 250 monastic rules (which is the clue that allows us to establish the Dharmaguptaka affinity of the text) could have been added in China.

213 The well known Gāndhārī *Dharmapāda* found near Khotan, written in northwest (Gāndhārī) Prakrit in the Kharoṣṭhī script and dated to around the 2nd c. C.E., is most commonly assigned to the Dharmaguptaka school (though, as John Brough has

It is not possible, then, to establish with certainty the precise sectarian environment within which the Kauśāmbī decline-prophecy first arose. A Dharmaguptaka context seems as likely as any other alternative; yet this hypothesis must remain provisional, and we should also keep in mind that the story may have been the exclusive property of a single school only for a very brief period of time.

What we can say with certainty, however, is that the original Kauśāmbī story was utterly devoid of Mahāyāna content.[214] And indeed when the

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pointed out, other possibilities cannot be excluded; see Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* [London: Oxford University Press, 1962], p. 44). And in fact use of the Gāndhārī language (which in turn is closely associated with the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script) has been taken by some scholars as sufficient evidence of the Dharmaguptaka origins of the text in question, though Oskar von Hinüber has recently advised greater caution in this regard ("Die Bestimmung der Schulzgehörigkeit buddhistischer Texte nach sprachlichen Kritirien," in Heinz Bechert, ed., *Zur Schulzgehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Part I [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985], pp. 57-75). As to the Mahāsāṃghika use of the Kharoṣṭhī script (and a Prakrit language), recent excavations at Kara Tepe (old Termez, in Bactria) have shown that an earlier layer of Mahāsāṃghika inscriptions, in the Kharoṣṭhī script, preceded a later group of Sarvāstivādin dedications written in Brāhmī (see J. Harmatta [Ya. Kharmatta], "K interpretatsii indiĭskikh nadpiseĭ na keramike iz Kara-tepe," in B. Ya. Staviskiĭ, gen. ed., *Buddiĭskie peshchery Kara-Tepe v starom Termeze* [= *Kara Tepe, 2*] [Moscow: Nauka, 1969], pp. 32-39). Evidence from the Chinese canon likewise points to a the use of a Prakrit language (and thus possibly, though not necessarily, the Kharoṣṭhī script) by the Dharmaguptaka and Mahāsāṃghika schools, in contrast to the use of Sanskrit by the Sarvāstivādins (see Ernst Waldschmidt, "Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and their Relation to the Chinese Āgamas," in Heinz Bechert, ed., *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, No. 117, 1980, pp. 136-174). In summary, then, while the Sarvāstivādins did make use of the Kharoṣṭhī script (and a Prakrit language) for inscriptions in India itself, by the time they became active in transmitting Buddhism across Central Asia they appear to have shifted to the use of the Sanskrit language and the Brāhmī script.

214 That a non-Mahāyāna story should be set at Kauśāmbī sometime during the early centuries of the first millennium C.E. is not surprising. Both Fa-hsien (who visited the area at the beginning of the 5th century C.E.) and Hsüan-tsang (who passed through the region in the mid-7th century) report that the Buddhist community at Kauśāmbī was composed mostly (according to Fa-hsien) or entirely (in Hsüan-tsang's time) of non-Mahāyānists. (See James Legge, trans., *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* [1886; rpt. New York: Dover, 1965], p. 96, and Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* [1884; rpt. New York: Paragon, 1968], vol. 1, p. 235.) Fa-hsien does not mention the Kauśāmbī story, and was perhaps unaware of it; he relates a different version of the decline of the Dharma, based on the migration and ultimate disappearance of the Buddha's alms-bowl (Legge, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110). Hsüan-tsang, however, appears to be familiar with the story, for he states in connection with his visit to Kauśāmbī that "The law of

story finally begins to appear in Mahāyāna contexts the authors seem rather uncomfortable with its pessimistic conclusions, and show signs of attempting to step back from the finality of the extinction of the Dharma that it portrays.[215]

Finally we come to the third question posed above: whether there have been any identifiable shifts in the content or context of the story over time. Certainly we do find a clear-cut shift in the context of the story in the three texts in the "late Khotanese adaptations" category, where the events at Kauśāmbī are framed by an account of the fate of Buddhism in Khotan. And in one of these texts, the *Religious Annals of Khotan*, we even find a movement away from the prophecy genre toward a historical narrative, and the possible treatment of the story as an event that has already taken place in the past.

As to the content of the story, however, what we find throughout the recensions we have surveyed is a rather striking continuity over the centuries. The main characters, the plot, even the uses to which the story is put remain largely consistent in all the versions surveyed. Only in two of the texts examined above – the Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* and the Tibetan translation of the *Religious Annals of Khotan* – do the editors seem uncomfortable with the outcome of the story, and attempt to tone down the pessimistic conclusions it implies.

In summary, then, the Kauśāmbī story does not exhibit any major

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Śākya becoming extinct, this will be the very last country in which it will survive" (Beal, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 237).

215 A classic example of such editorial emendation is found in the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, where a brief retelling of the Kauśāmbī story (12.473c14-474a5) is framed by the statements that "the Three Jewels manifest disappearance, but this also is not permanent extinction" (473c), and "My True Dharma is not really extinct! At that time [Kauśāmbī] will have 120,000 bodhisattvas who will righteously uphold my teaching" (474a).

deformations in plot due to changing historical circumstances. And it is only when the story reaches Khotan – and then only in texts dating from the 8th-9th century – that we find an identifiable shift in the historical context of the story. Likewise it is only when the story enters a Mahāyāna milieu that we find its editors beginning to tamper with its conclusions – but then for reasons that appear to stem from philosophical, not historical, discontent.

Having reconstructed the form and content of the original story as best we can, we may now pause to consider those most elusive issues in Indian Buddhist history: the date and provenance of the tradition.

The Chinese sources can offer at least a *terminus ante quem* for the existence in India of a written text containing the Kauśāmbī story. Since the verse translation of the *Prophecy of Kātyāyana* was rendered into Chinese no later than 316 C.E.,[216] we may assume that its Indian ancestor had taken shape no later than the second half of the 3rd century. Moreover, since the verse *Prophecy of Kātyāyana* appears to represent a Bactrian recension of the story (and is thus one step removed from its Indian ancestor), a conservative approach would suggest that the Indian text must have been in existence no later than the first half of the 3rd century C.E.

On the Indian side, a *terminus post quem* is provided by the names of the Greeks, Sakas and Parthians, who seem to have been mentioned already in the archetype (α). Though the chronology of this period in Indian history is still extremely problematic, the best current estimate is that the Parthians – the last of these three groups to arrive on the scene – invaded northwest India sometime during the first half of the first century C.E.[217] Thus the composition of a decline prophecy containing their names should date from

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216 See above, p. 40 and n. 78.

217 On the Parthian invasions of northwest India see Frye, *HAI*, pp. 197-204.

no earlier than the second half of that century. Allowing for a sufficient interval for these historical events to be converted into the stylized myth found in the Kauśāmbī story, we may offer the conservative estimate that the story took shape sometime during the period from c. 100-250 C.E.[218]

As to the provenance of the original story, there is no persuasive reason to question the assumption that the events it narrates – that is, the conflict within the saṃgha and the death of the arhat Sūrata – did indeed take place at Kauśāmbī. To say that the decline prophecy itself was formulated there, however, is another matter altogether. For if the story does indeed relate an actual historical event, a minimum requirement for the conversion of that event into a prophecy is that this historical grounding be forgotten. While it is possible that this process took place at Kauśāmbī, it is more likely that this took place at a considerable distance in both time and space.

Of the extant versions of the Kauśāmbī story, only the version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* preserved in Tibetan translation offers specific geographical clues as to the area where it was recorded. As we have seen, this text's description of Kauśāmbī as being located on the "other, southern side of the Ganges River," while Gandhāra and Madhyadeśa are said to be located on "this side," suggests that this recension stems from the far northwest of India, and possibly from Gandhāra itself.[219]

In addition to this explicit clue, we have also the implicit information offered by the evidence for the transmission of the story in the Kharoṣṭhī script. For this script – a descendant of the Aramaic script used by the

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[218] This time period, incidentally, would correlate well with the fact that the earliest versions of the story are all associated with a timetable for the duration of the Dharma of 1,000 years, a timetable which appears to have been most popular during the first five centuries C.E. (see above, pp. 9-11).

[219] See above, p. 65, n. 132.

Achaemenids when they controlled Gandhāra and parts of the Punjab (c. 550-330 B.C.E.) – never gained currency widespread outside its homeland in the far northwest, and in those Central Asian regions to which it was exported.[220]

If the Kauśāmbī decline prophecy appears to have emerged in northwest India during the period c. 100-250 C.E., what can this tell us about the context in which it was formulated? Once again precise chronologies still evade us, but throughout most or all of this period northwest India was a part of the powerful Kushan empire.[221] One might wonder, however, at the suggestion that such a prophecy could have emerged out of this setting. Artistic remains from the Kushan period provide ample evidence of a cultural golden age, and available sources strongly suggest that the Buddhist community – though legends of the conversion of King Kaniṣka himself appear to be a pious fiction[222] – flourished under Kushan rule. What, then, could have led the Buddhist subjects of such a cosmopolitan realm, presumably enjoying all the material and spiritual benefits afforded by the long-lasting *pax kushanica*, to produce such a prophecy of decline?

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220 The well-known lion capital inscription (dating from the Saka period) found at Mathura is the exception rather the rule, and the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script in this instance is an indication of the importation of this script to the region by the Sakas, not of its general local use. For the inscription in question see Sten Konow, ed., *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 2, 1 (Calcutta: Government of India, 1929), pp. 30-49.

221 On some of the vexing problems of Kushan chronology see A. L. Basham, ed., *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968). Despite a number of international conferences on the topic, no consensus has yet been reached on the dates of Kushan rule. For a wealth of bibliographic references on chronology and other aspects of Kushan studies see Frye, *HAI*, pp. 249-269.

222 On the supposed conversion of Kaniṣka see John M. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 29-30. Despite the great amount of attention that has been paid to one of Kaniṣka's coins, which portrays a standing Buddha (the earliest known Buddha-image) and the Bactrian legend BOΔΔO (see Rosenfield, pp. 76-77 and Plate V, coin no. 88), it is important to emphasize – as Rosenfield does – that this image is the exception rather than the rule, and that the occasional Buddha images on Kushan coins are far outnumbered by deities drawn from other (especially Iranian) religious traditions.

Here a close examination the plot of the story reveals certain details relevant to this question. For it is not the invasions themselves that are portrayed as bringing an end to the Dharma. The events at Kauśāmbī take place *after* King Duṣprasaha has succeeded in subduing the foreign invaders and has himself become king (and a Buddhist king at that) of all of Jambudvīpa. Likewise the monks who converge on Kauśāmbī do so not in flight from invading forces, but at the express invitation of the king, who invites them to an opulent Dharma-feast.

It is not the upheavals of war, then, that lead to the death of the Dharma in this account, but the munificence of a well-intentioned Buddhist king. Moreover, it is the Buddhist community itself – or more specifically, some of its more complacent and self-satisfied members – whose actions result in the death of an arhat, and ultimately in the disappearance of the Dharma from the world. In a sense, then, we have come full circle, and find ourselves in the presence of yet another account attributing the demise of the Dharma to causes internal to the saṃgha itself.

Viewed in this light, the Kauśāmbī prophecy makes good sense as the product of a Kushan environment. As a tale of events set in a period of post-invasion prosperity, the account portrays quite well the kind of circumstances that must have obtained during the two or three centuries of Kushan rule. And though once again (given the less than adequate nature of our sources) this hypothesis must remain provisional, there is no significant evidence to contradict Kushan authorship of the prophecy,[223] and a

223 The reference to the *t'ou-sha-lo* – i.e., the Tokharians or Kushans – as a fourth "evil king" (found in the Chinese translation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*; see above, p. 34 and note 68) need not contradict this hypothesis, since it is an isolated occurrence found only in a Chinese translation dating from the mid-5th century. The archetype α – which is the only version I am suggesting was produced under Kushan rule – clearly contained a list of only three kings.

considerable amount to support it.

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In light of the evidently non-Mahāyāna origins of the story it is striking that the version which was to become most influential in East Asia was that found in a Mahāyāna text, the *Candragarbha-sūtra*. Though the Kauśāmbī story was available in Chinese translation no later than the end of the Western Chin dynasty (316 C.E.), it was the version contained in the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, translated only in 566 C.E., that was to become a standard reference point for Chinese commentators. Likewise in Tibet there was another version of the Kauśāmbī story – that contained in the *Karma-śataka* – available at least as early as the second half of the 8th century C.E. Yet this version was generally ignored (or overlooked) by commentators in favor of the decline prophecy of attributed to Candragarbha.

The primacy of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in the Chinese and Tibetan environments as a source of information on the ultimate fate of the Dharma thus requires some explanation. Beginning with the Tibetan case, which is the more straightforward of the two, we should note first of all that the Tibetans do not seem to have obtained this sutra directly from India. Rather, all the available evidence indicates that the *Candragarbha-sūtra* reached Tibet from the Tarim Basin, where (as the frequent citations of the text in the late Khotanese adaptations make clear) it was viewed as a particularly authoritative source on the decline and disappearance of the Dharma. Thus the *Candragarbha* would have been received by the Tibetans not simply as one Buddhist text among many, but as an especially important and frequently cited work.

The Chinese preference for the *Candragarbha* appears to be the result of a more complex set of circumstances. First we should note simply that

(unlike virtually all the earlier translations of the story) the *Candragarbha*, in its Chinese recension at least, is a *Mahāyāna* text. And the Chinese preference for the Mahāyāna was established quite early.[224] Thus, given a variety of texts containing prophecies of the end of Buddhism, it is not at all surprising that the Chinese would select a Mahāyāna version of the story as the most authoritative.[225]

A second factor that led to the highlighting of the *Candragarbha* prophecy in the Chinese context was certainly the date of its translation. The text became available in Chinese at a particularly opportune time: Narendrayaśas, an Indian translator who had arrived in the Northern Ch'i capital in 556 C.E., completed his translation of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in 566 C.E., just eight years before the onset of one of the major persecutions of Chinese Buddhist history (574-577, under the Northern Chou dynasty). In such an environment a prophecy purporting to describe the future sufferings of the Buddhist community could not but have found a willing audience.

But some scholars have connected the historical timeliness of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* prophecy not just with the circumstances of the Buddhist community in China, but with events in India itself. Yamada Ryūjō,

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[224] The Chinese preference for the Mahāyāna wing of the Buddhist tradition appears to have emerged as early as the late 2nd century C.E., and continued to hold sway throughout the rest of Chinese Buddhist history. This preference was shared by China's Tibetan and Khotanese neighbors (and was exported by the Chinese in turn to Japan), but not by the inhabitants of the rest of Central Asia (most of whom maintained their Sarvāstivādin identity until well into the T'ang period) or, for that matter, by Buddhists in many parts of India. The lack of Mahāyāna dominance in these regions during the early 7th century can be seen in the results of Hsüan-tsang's running census of the monastic population in the areas he visited; for a tabulation of the sectarian affiliation of these communities see Lamotte, *HBI*, pp. 596-601.

[225] The only other Mahāyāna version of the Kauśāmbī story available in Chinese prior to this time was the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (T. No. 383), translated around the end of the 5th century (see above, pp. 54-56), and in fact this text was regularly cited by Chinese commentators. The *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* contains only a residual version of the Kauśāmbī prophecy, however, which may explain in part why its authority never equaled that of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*.

in particular, has suggested in a number of pioneering works that both the composition of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* and the evolution of Indian Buddhist decline theory in general were shaped by the invasions of northwest India and Kashmir by the Hephthalite ruler Mihirakula during the first half of the 6th century.[226] In the following section I will discuss the available evidence concerning the Hephthalite invasions, and will offer an evaluation of Yamada's theories concerning their relevance to the formulation of Indian decline traditions, including those contained in the *Candragarbha-sūtra*.

[226] See especially his articles "Mappō shisō ni tsuite," "Rengemen-gyō ni tsuite," and Chapter 8 ("Kōki kyōten no haikei") of his *Daijō bukkyō seiritsu ron josetsu*; for an English abstract of his views see "The Logic of Crisis: The Mappō Theory in India, China and Japan" in *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto 1958* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1960), pp. 459-462.

The Mihirakula Episode

Toward the end of the fifth century C.E. a people known in Indian sources as the *Hūṇa* swept into northwest India and Kashmir. These new invaders, generally identified by modern scholars as a branch of the Iranian-speaking Hephthalites then ruling in Bactria,[227] combined conquest with cruelty in proportions that would not be seen again until the Mongol period. The second *Hūṇa* ruler to hold power in northwest India, Mihirakula, was especially notorious in this regard, and his reputation seems to have stretched from China to Byzantium even within his own lifetime.[228]

Despite (or perhaps due to) its ferocity, however, *Hūṇa* rule in India proved to be short-lived. After invading Gandhāra in the late 5th or early 6th century, Mihirakula's forces were defeated by a Hindu confederacy (c. 530) and were forced back to Kashmir. The dynasty continued under two or three shadowy figures about whom little is known, and appears to have come to an end sometime in the second half of the 6th century. Meanwhile the Turks and the Sasanians combined forces to crush the Hephthalites in Central Asia, defeating them in fierce fighting in the late 550s and dividing their lands among themselves.

Though the geographical extent of *Hūṇa* control in the northwest, like its duration, seems to have been relatively limited, the violence of their rule was not easily forgotten. When the Kashmiri historian Kalhana set out to record the tale of Mihirakula's atrocities some five centuries later, he found some of the details too appalling to relate: "As the touch of wicked men

[227] For a review of current scholarship on the Hephthalites see Frye, *HAI*, pp. 346-351.

[228] See Yamada, "Mappō shisō," p. 363.

defiles the body, so the relation [of their deeds] defiles the speech. Therefore yet other inhuman acts of his are not narrated [by me]."[229] Similar tales of cruelty and violence were recorded by Hsüan-tsang in the mid-7th century,[230] and though there is no reason to think that the king (apparently a Hephthalite vassal) met by Sung-yün in 520 in Gandhāra was Mihirakula himself, his description of the ruler as cruel and vindictive (as well as boorish and uncultured) accords well with other descriptions of the style of Hephthalite rule.[231]

As in the Muslim conquests several centuries later, the Buddhist monasteries proved to be especially easy targets. And according to the reports of Chinese Buddhist travelers, the Hephthalites showed active hostility toward the Buddhist religion. Yet it is important to point out a crucial difference in the results of these two invasions. While the Muslim conquest resulted in the eventual conversion of large segments of the local population to Islam (and weakened the Buddhist community sufficiently to enable its eventual absorption into Hinduism), the results of the *Hūṇa* invasion were much more limited. As the travel records of Sung-yün and Hsüan-tsang make clear, the area still remained largely Buddhist, and though material damage to Buddhist establishments certainly did take place, the major religious change in the century following the invasions seems to have been the conversion of a part of the region to the Mahāyāna.[232]

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229 Sir M. Aurel Stein, trans., *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (rpt. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), p. 45.

230 Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 167-168.

231 See Édouard Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra," *BEFEO*, vol. 3 (1903), pp. 379-441 (esp. pp. 408, 416-417).

232 Contrast the report of Fa-hsien, who visited Udyāna around 400 C.E. and found a flourishing community of some 500 monasteries in which the monks were "all

The Buddhists, however, had their own means of revenge. The story of Mihirakula was preserved in a *jātaka*-style Buddhist text in which the Hephthalite ruler is portrayed as a devotee of the *purāṇas* – that is, as a Hindu[233] – who vows to destroy the Buddhist religion in a future life-time. He is reborn as an Indian king, and succeeds in overturning the Buddha-Dharma and in smashing the Buddha's begging bowl. Karmic justice must be done, however, and Mihirakula is reborn in the Avīci hell as a reward for his actions. Though the text has not been preserved in an Indian original, it survives in a Chinese translation executed by Narendrayaśasas, the same translator who produced the Chinese version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*.[234]

It was in 558 C.E. – soon after the death of Mihirakula – that the concept of the three periods of True Dharma (*cheng-fa*), Semblance Dharma (*hsiang-fa*), and End-Dharma (*mo-fa*) was first formulated by Hui-ssu in his *Nan-yüeh Ssu ta ch'an-shih li shih-yüan wen*.[235] And via an ingenious chain of argument Yamada Ryūjō has suggested that it was precisely the suffering experienced by the Buddhist community under Mihirakula's rule that

students of the Hīnayāna" (Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp. 28-29), with that of Hsüan-tsang (mid-7th c.), who remarks on the number of devastated monasteries but reports that the population was still largely Buddhist, and that the people were "believers in the Great Vehicle" (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. 1, p. 120). Sung-yün specifies that Udyāna had a Buddhist ruler when he visited (c. 520), though in Gandhāra an anti-Buddhist puppet of the Hephthalites held sway (Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun," pp. 408, 416-417). Even in Gandhāra, however, the population remained largely Buddhist some two generations after the Hephthalite conquest (p. 417). On the overall effect of the *Hūṇa* and Muslim invasions see S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries*, pp. 206-210.

233 The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* describes Mihirakula as a devotee of Śiva, the god of destruction – an altogether appropriate choice.

234 *Lien-hua-mien ching*, T. No. 386 (12.1070-1077).

235 T. No. 1933, 46.786c.

stimulated a sense of the Dharma's decline and led to the formulation of of the concept of the "three periods" (including the notion of *mo-fa*) in the Indian context. One of the key figures in the transmission of these ideas to China, Yamada argues, was the translator Narendrayaśas, who himself must have lived through the *Hūṇa* devastation. The remainder of this section will be devoted to an evaluation of the impact of the Mihirakula episode on Indian Buddhist ideas concerning the demise of the Dharma, and on the content of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in particular.

Yamada's reasoning runs as follows.[236] The *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* (or more specifically, the *Yüeh-tsang fen* or *Candragarbha* section of that sutra) was the most influential Buddhist decline scripture in China. Thus we should expect it to have played a role in triggering the rapid spread of *mo-fa* thought in late 6th-century China. This sutra was not translated into Chinese, however, until 566, and thus Hui-ssu's formulation of the "three periods" theory in 558 (the earliest such formulation in an extant Chinese text) could not have been based on this scripture. (A further and serious difficulty, not pursued by Yamada, is that neither the idea of the three periods nor the term *mo-fa* itself appears anywhere in the *Candragarbha-sūtra*) Hui-ssu could, however – Yamada continues – have learned of the Indian theory of *mo-fa* directly from Narendrayaśas, who had arrived in the Northern Ch'i capital of Yeh approximately two years before the completion of Hui-ssu's *Li shih-yüan wen*. Indeed Narendrayaśas would have been the ideal carrier for such a tradition, since he was a native of the Udyāna region of northwest India, the very area invaded by Mihirakula, and thus must himself have been a victim of this great disaster. Finally, Yamada asserts, the Hephthalite

[236] See the articles cited above, n. 226.

invasions served as the background not only for the formulation of the concept of *mo-fa* in India, but for the composition of the *Sūryagarbha* and *Candragarbha* sutras (in addition, of course, to the *Lien-hua-mien ching*) as well.

Yamada's theories are intriguing, and his proposals deserve careful scrutiny. Yet there are difficulties at every stage of his argument. Most problematic is his assumption that Narendrayaśas could have brought from India the concept of *mo-fa* and its corollary, the system of the "three periods." For as we have already seen, there is no evidence that such a system was ever known in India – and there is considerable evidence that it was not.[237] Thus any role of Narendrayaśas in the "transmission" of this concept to China must remain entirely hypothetical.

Second, the idea of a meeting between Hui-ssu and Narendrayaśas, resulting in the transmission of *any* current Indian ideas concerning the decline of the Dharma, is likewise hypothetical. That such a meeting could have occurred may be, as Yamada suggests, "entirely natural," yet there is no concrete evidence to prove that such an encounter ever took place.

Third, though Narendrayaśas was indeed from northwest India, this does not necessarily mean that he had experienced Mihirakula's tyranny first-hand. Mihirakula's dates are uncertain, and though it is quite possible that Narendrayaśas (born in 516 C.E.) might have lived under his rule, we should also note that Hephthalite control seems to have been quite limited in geographical range. Thus during the travels of Sung-yün the Hephthalites controlled Gandhāra, while the adjoining region of Udyāna (the native place of Narendrayaśas) was ruled by an independent and pro-Buddhist king. In

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[237] See above, pp. 15-19 and below, p. 129.

order to establish with certainty that Narendrayaśas had personally experienced Mihirakula's atrocities we would need to know not only the specific territory in which he lived, but the exact range of Hephthalite control at the time, and – most evasive of all – the precise dates of Mihirakula's rule. All these items are elusive, however, and thus the idea of any direct contact between Narendrayaśas and Mihirakula must remain speculative.

Finally we come to Yamada's assertion that Mihirakula's activities served as the background for several of the texts translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas. That Mihirakula was indeed the prototype for the protagonist of the *Lien-hua-mien ching* seems indisputable. The connection between Mihirakula and the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, however (which will be our main concern here), is far more problematic. The Chinese *Candragarbha* text does indeed contain a prophecy of decline, and – as Yamada suggests – one might well expect such a pessimistic outlook to emerge during a period of persecution and conquest. Yet Yamada's suggestion implies that Mihirakula's actions contributed directly to the composition of the *Candragarbha* itself. While a thorough evaluation of this hypothesis would require a detailed study of the entire (and quite lengthy) sutra, a few observations may be made solely on the basis of the section of the sutra that is most relevant to this issue – the chapter on the destruction of the Dharma (*Fa mieh-chin p'in*, T. 13.374c27-381c11).

As the analysis given above has already shown, the Kauśāmbī story – which comprises the heart of the "Destruction of the Dharma" chapter of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* – was already circulating in India long before the beginning of the Hephthalite period. And the version of this story given in the *Candragarbha* text exhibits few divergences from these earlier recensions. The only respects in which the *Candragarbha* differs

appreciably from its predecessors is when it moves *away* from the prophecy of decline – that is, when it offers *dhāraṇīs* for the preservation of the Dharma and suggests that the Buddha's extraordinary efforts (in combination with those of ordinary Buddhist believers) may be able to prolong the lifespan of the Dharma beyond its originally allotted time. To describe the Hephthalite incursions as the "background" of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*, then, clearly requires supporting evidence beyond that provided by Yamada.

Finally, it is important to point out that the one text known to be connected with Mihirakula, the *Lien-hua-mien ching*, does not in fact contain a prophecy of the destruction of the Dharma. Rather, it states that despite Mihirakula's persecution of the Buddhist community the Buddha's begging-bowl will be miraculously restored, and seven virtuous kings will arise to work for the preservation and propagation of the Dharma.[238]

Thus the connection between an experience of persecution or conquest and the formulation of scriptures predicting the destruction of the Dharma is not so straightforward as it might seem. After a brief consideration of some of the other forms that Buddhist decline theory has taken, we will return in the final section of this Introduction to consider some of the factors that have led to the formulation of Buddhist prophecies of decline and to the multivalent uses to which such decline imagery has been put.

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238 Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Age*, p. 32.

OTHER DECLINE TRADITIONS

Though the Kauśāmbī story can legitimately be described as one of dominant myths of decline in the Buddhist tradition, it is far from being the only myth of this kind. A number of other decline traditions are also found in Buddhist literature, and three of the most influential of these traditions will be described briefly here.

The Hindu four-*yuga* system in Buddhist literature. Buddhism has never existed in a vacuum, and throughout its history in India one of Buddhism's main competitors (and sources of inspiration) was the Hindu religious tradition. Thus it is not surprising that in a number of Buddhist sources we find a decline scenario that is clearly of Hindu origin.

According to this system the world repeatedly passes through four successive ages, or *yugas*, each one inferior (in both the material and the moral sense) to its predecessor. The names of these ages (the *kṛta, tretā, dvāpara* and *kali* ages, respectively) are said to be based on the names of the four possible throws in an Indian dice game, from *kṛta*, the best throw, to *kali*, the worst.[239] Two different versions of this schema can be discerned in the Hindu literature: what we might call the epic system, on the one hand (found in the great Hindu epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*) and the purāṇic scheme (typical of the generally later literature of the *purāṇas*) on the other. According to the epic scheme the world comes into existence at the highest point in the series – the golden age or *kṛta yuga* – and proceeds downward through the series, until at the end of each *kali yuga* the world is destroyed. The purāṇic scheme follows essentially the same pattern, but

239 On the meaning of the term *yuga* and the names of the yugas as denoting gambling throws see Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandurang Vaman Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. 3 (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1946), p. 886ff.

here the downward cycle of four yugas is said to be repeated one thousand times before the world is finally destroyed.

This system of four *yugas* appears to be restricted to Hindu literature (with the corresponding Buddhist system being worked out in terms of *kalpas*, not *yugas*) until sometime during the Gupta period, when we begin to find references to the four-*yuga* scheme in Buddhist literature as well. A striking example of this usage appears in the tenth chapter (*Sagāthakam*) of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, a section that almost certainly dates from just after the Gupta period.[240] Here we find the prediction that an "age of vice" (*kali yuga*) will follow the rule of "the Maurya, the Nanda, the Gupta and then the Mleccha who are bad kings,"[241] and that after this *kali yuga* the good Dharma will no more prevail in the world. And the sutra goes on to be even more specific: "Not in the age of two (*dvāpara*), not in the age of triads (*tretā*), not in the age of vice (*kali*), which will come after, but in the golden age (*kṛta*) world-teachers will appear, and attain Buddhahood."[242]

Less systematic treatments of the four-*yuga* system continue to appear in Buddhist literature from the Gupta period onward. Yet it is fair to say that this time-scheme was never fully domesticated within the Buddhist context. While the "golden age" (*kṛta*) and the "age of fighting" (as the Tibetan texts regularly render the expression *kali yuga*[243]) could be

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240 The first, ninth and tenth chapters of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* are missing in the first Chinese translation of the text (completed in 443 C.E.), but are included in a later translation (513 C.E.); see M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. 2 (Calcutta: U. of Calcutta,1933), p. 333. The late date of this section the text is also confirmed by the reference to the Guptas themselves (to be followed by *mleccha* rulers) found in verse 786.

241 Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *The Lankavatara Sutra* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932), p. 286 (verse 786).

242 Suzuki, *Lankavatara*, p. 687 (verse 804).

243 Tib. *rtsod-pa'i dus* (*Mvy*. no. 8296).

harmonized with pre-existing Buddhist concepts of history, the intervening periods were difficult to place, and wherever this four-fold system appears in the Buddhist sources its presence serves as direct evidence of the ongoing Hindu-Buddhist rapprochement that accelerated during the Gupta period. It also, however, provides important evidence of another sort. That Buddhist writers should have been forced to resort to this non-Buddhist time system to express a sense of the periodization of decline, and that references to this four-*yuga* system should continue to appear sporadically in Buddhist literature from the Gupta age to the Muslim period, clearly demonstrates that the Buddhists had no similar time scheme of their own. Were a three-stage system comparable to the "True Dharma / Semblance Dharma / End-Dharma" periodization of East Asian Buddhism known in India, we would surely find Buddhist writers making use of that system instead.

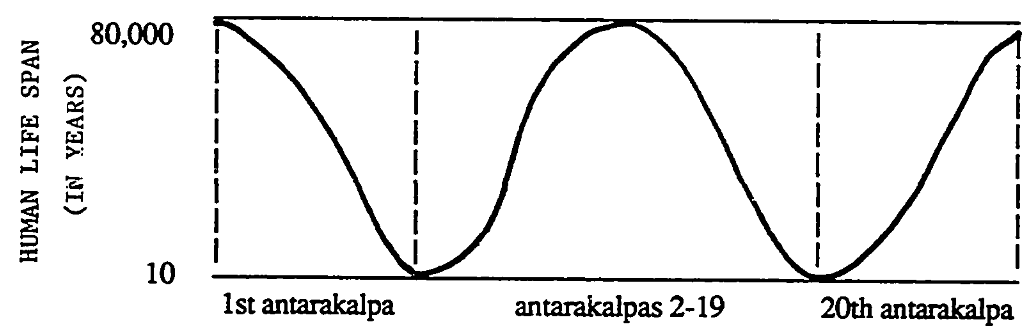
Scholastic decline theory in the *Abhidharmakośa*. In contrast to the unidirectional ("decline only") time scheme found in the Hindu epic and purāṇic texts,[244] Buddhist literature has regularly featured what might best be described as a theory of an "oscillating universe." Neither linear nor cyclical, but containing certain elements of both, this understanding of time has shaped much of the Buddhist sense of history and serves as the backdrop to such diverse traditions as the "four Buddhas of the past," the destruction of the Dharma at Kauśāmbī, and the eventual coming of the future Buddha, Maitreya. Though this system is implicit in countless Buddhist scriptures

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[244] Though both the epic and the purāṇic systems are based on the unrelenting downward sequence of the four *yugas*, the purāṇic system – which postulates the destruction of the universe not at the end of each *kali yuga*, but only at the end of each series of 1,000 *kṛta*-to-*kali* sequences – requires a brief and dramatic period of upward movement between the end of each *kali* age and the beginning of the next *kṛta* cycle. This interval – which would seem to offer fertile conceptual grounds for apocalyptic speculation – has received remarkably little attention in Hindu thought.

and commentaries, perhaps the best systematic description is that given in the *Abhidharmakośa*,[245] a scholastic work reflecting the views of the Sarvāsti-vāda school (but adopted as a standard reference work by Mahāyāna authorities as well) and dating from perhaps the 4th century C.E.

The view of history (or better, cosmology) presented in the *Abhidharmakośa* is the following. The universe passes through an unending series of phases of manifestation and nonmanifestation. Within this process four distinct periods (called *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*s) can be distinguished: the *kalpa* of destruction, during which the manifest world is progressively destroyed; of the duration of destruction, during which the universe is continuously unmanifest; of renovation, when the world as we know it comes back into being; and the duration of renovation, during which the world is continuously manifest. Of these four it is only the last that constitutes "history" in the proper sense of the word. Each *kalpa* is further subdivided into 20 *antarakalpa*s or "sub-kalpas," which (in the case of the fourth *asaṃkhyeya kalpa*) may be diagrammed as follows:

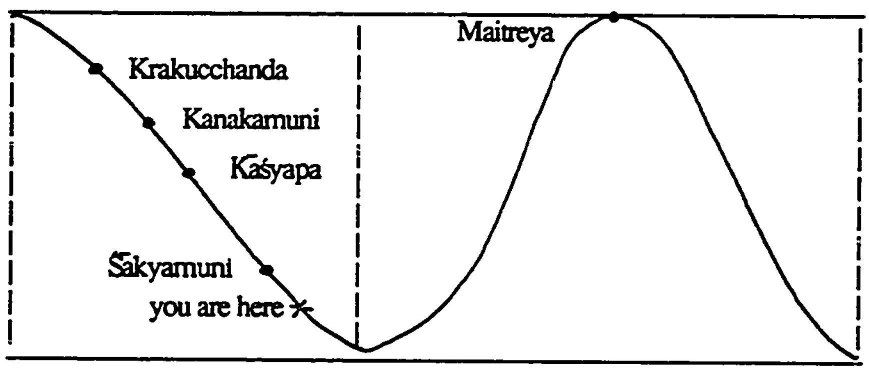


As illustrated above, the human lifespan is said to vary from a maximum of

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[245] See Louis de La Vallée Poussin, trans., *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926), Chapter 3, §89d-98.

80,000 years (at the peak or "golden age" of the cycle") to a minimum of 10 years (during the "age of fighting" at the nadir). There is general agreement that we are now in the latter part of the first *antarakalpa*, with a considerable period of decline still to come before the cycle again turns upward.[246] The historical Buddha Śākyamuni, his three predecessors, and the future Buddha Maitreya (that is, the "five Buddhas of this Good Eon" [247]) can be placed within the scheme as follows:



Note that the Buddhist system (unlike its Hindu counterpart, in which the

[246] See L. de La Vallée Poussin, "Ages of the World – Buddhist," *ERE*, vol. 1, pp. 187-190.

[247] The standard Mahāyāna scheme anticipates a total of 1,000 Buddhas during the "Good Eon" (*bhadrakalpa*), or occasionally even 1,005. (For the occurrence of the latter figure in the *Prophecy of the Arhat of Khotan* see Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1, p. 79; the same number appears in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra* according to Bu-ston [Obermiller, *History of Buddhism*, Part I, p. 91]. A similarly anomalous figure of 500 *bhadrakalpika* Buddhas seems to have been current in Central Asian Sarvāstivāda circles; see for example the reference to "four hundred ninety-six bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa" (four having already become Buddhas) in the Uighur Buddhist confession text *Kšanti nom*. The original tradition, however, seems to anticipated only five Buddhas in this age (see for example the *Mahāvastu*. trans. J. J. Jones, Vol. 3 [London: Luzac, 1956], pp. 233, 321). Note that the number five actually represents an abbreviation of the oldest list, the well known "seven Buddhas of the past' (for which see J. Vogel, "The Past Buddhas and Kāśyapa in Indian Art and Epigraphy," in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller* [Leipzig: Harrasso- witz, 1954], pp. 808-816), obtained by extracting the last four Buddhas from the "seven Buddhas" list and adding the future Buddha, Maitreya. I am not aware of any reference to the Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa* that occurs without the mention of Maitreya; it would appear that this figure and the idea of the "good eon" entered Buddhist mythology together.

direction of change is exclusively downward) includes alternating periods of progress and decline, thus encouraging either optimism or pessimism depending on where one believes herself to be located in the cycle. In the long view there is room for optimism in looking forward to the golden age of the next Buddha, Maitreya. In the short range, however – and this "short range" is rather extended, for Maitreya's coming is not expected to occur for some 5.6 billion years – this system envisions only decline, and thus tends to encourage the same kind of conservatism that is the natural byproduct of the Hindu scheme.

One of the great strengths of this system has been its ability to integrate various other elements of Buddhist mythology – the Kauśāmbī story, the coming of Maitreya, even the rudiments of the Hindu four-*yuga* scheme – into a single macrocosmic framework. One Buddhist decline tradition, however, would appear to resist such incorporation.[248] The view of history presented in the *Kālacakra-tantra* – now the dominant influence on Tibetan views of the future – shows clear signs of its largely non-Buddhist ancestry, and offers a striking exception to the general style of Buddhist decline myths.

The Śambhala myth of the *Kālacakra-tantra* and the Buddhist response to Islam. The *Kālacakra-tantra* is the only genuinely apocalyptic text that has ever been accepted into any Buddhist canon.[249] Born out of

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248 Chinese messianic traditions centered around Maitreya are likewise impossible to incorporate into this scheme; they are clearly extracanonical, however, and would appear to be largely of Taoist inspiration (see Jan Nattier, "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: A Typological Analysis," in Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, eds., *Maitreya, the Future Buddha* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], pp. 23-47 [pp. 30-32, 34] and the further references given there).

249 By "apocalyptic" I mean "a worldview that anticipates the radical overturning of the present religio-political order as a result of action by forces operating on a cosmic (i.e., transhuman) level." For an extended discussion of this usage and related issues see Nattier, "Meanings of the Maitreya Myth," especially pp. 42-44, notes 41-46.

the traumatic encounter between the Hindu and Buddhist inhabitants of northwest India and the Muslim invaders who first penetrated the subcontinent in 712 and returned with a vengeance under Mahmūd of Ghaznī (who carried out annual raids into the Punjab from 997-1030), the text incorporates a range of themes rarely encountered in Buddhist literature, culminating in an apocalyptic battle between Muslims and Buddhists in which the Buddhists – contrary to all realistic historical expectation – emerge victorious. The ancestry of the text is the subject of controversy; while Tibetan tradition (and the testimony of the text itself) would have us believe that it was preached by the historical Buddha Śākyamuni to King Sucandra, ruler of the mysterious kingdom of Śambhala (who then took it home with him for safekeeping),[250] all available evidence suggests that the text first appeared in India early in the 11th century.[251]

The time scheme envisioned in the *Kālacakra-tantra* is both complex and detailed. A series of seven kings of Śambhala (of whom the first is the above-mentioned Sucandra) is followed by twenty-five "lineage-holders" (Skt. *kūlika*, Tib. *rigs-ldan*), each ruling for a period of one hundred years. Finally, in the 98th reign-year of the last lineage-holder (2425 C.E. by

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250 For the orthodox Tibetan (Gelugpa) view see Tenzin Gyatso (the Dalai Lama), *The Kālachakra Tantra*, edited and translated by Jeffrey Hopkins (London: Wisdom Publications, 1985), pp. 59-65. On the kingdom of Shambhala itself see Edwin Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambhala* (Garden City, NJ: Anchor Books, 1980). One modern writer believes that the name "Shambhala" refers to the kingdom of the Uighurs in the Tarim Basin, centered at the city of Qočo (c. 850-1250); see John Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra," in Roger Jackson et al., eds., *The Wheel of Time: The Kalachakra in Context* (Madison: Deer Park Books, 1985). The book is apparently privately published; I have been unsuccessful in ordering it through regular channels.

251 See what is now the definitive study of the historical aspects of the *Kālacakra-tantra*, John R. Newman's "The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1987), p. 75.

modern Tibetan calculations[252]) there will be a great war between the Buddhist forces, based at Śambhala, and the barbarians. The barbarians (Skt. *mleccha*, Tib. *kla-klo*, a term which can safely be translated as "Muslims" throughout the text) will be defeated, and Buddhism will again flourish throughout the world. Finally, 5,104 years after Śākyamuni's the Buddhist teachings will disappear from the face of the earth, and the Dharma will come to an end.[253]

That the lineage-holders bear the title *kalkī* (the name of the final *avatāra* or incarnation of Viṣṇu in the standardized Hindu system) is only one of many instances of the appropriation of explicitly Hindu imagery in the *Kālacakra*. And it was precisely this evident syncretism, in Newman's view, that delayed the full acceptance of the *Kālacakra* in Vajrayāna Buddhist circles.[254] It is certainly true that the text is permeated by Hindu terms and concepts, to the extent that the plot would no longer make sense if these Hindu elements were removed. We may note here only three striking instances of such borrowings: the list of the incarnations of Viṣṇu (given in I.153), the use of the words "age" (*yuga*) and "Veda" as code-words for the number "four,"[255] and the statement that after the apocalyptic battle the

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252 Tenzin Gyatso, *The Kālachakra Tantra*, p. 65.

253 Summary based on Tenzin Gyatso, *The Kālachakra Tantra*, pp. 59-65. The author notes that the *Kālacakra*'s timetable is "104 years longer than the Sūtra system" (p. 65). Note that the chronology of the *Kālacakra* system places Śākyamuni's birth in approximately 880 B.C.E. (*op. cit.*, p. 484, n. 88).

254 Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 107.

255 See for example I.160, I.162. In other words, the text assumes familiarity with the four Vedas and with the four-*yuga* system as basic points of reference. The use of coded language throughout the text (which has succeeded in foiling all previous attempts at its systematic translation into a Western language) appears to be an attempt to hide the content of the text from potentially hostile readers – that is, from the Muslim invaders.

families of men on earth "shall be fulfilled with dharma, pleasure, and wealth,"[256] a clear reflection of the first three of the four goals of life as formulated in the Hindu tradition.[257]

If the text thus offers intriguing evidence of the extent of Hindu-Buddhist interaction around the turn of the millennium, it likewise provides a fascinating glimpse into Buddhist (or perhaps we should say rather Hindu-Buddhist, or simply "Indian") views of Islam.[258] The writer is clearly appalled by the non-vegetarian lifestyle of the Muslims ("they kill camels, horses and cattle," he reports, "and cook the flesh together with blood for just a bit")[259] and exhibits an erroneous but perfectly understandable view of Islamic history: Muhammad will be born in "the city of Baghdad in the land of Mecca," he states,"where the mighty, merciless idol of the barbarians, the demonic incarnation, lives in the world."[260] The status of Muhammad as "seal of the prophets" is reflected in a rather garbled list of the eight propagators of the "barbarian Dharma":

> Adam, Enoch, and Abraham; there are also five others endowed with *tamas* in the family of demonic snakes: Moses, Jesus, the White-Clad One,

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[256] I.164, translated in Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 637.

[257] That is, the worldly goals of pleasure (*kāma*), material well-being (*artha*), and duty (*dharma*), to which the further goal of liberation from the cycle of rebirth (*mokṣa*) is added.

[258] A forthcoming article examining the references to Islam in the *Kālacakra* literature has been announced by Newman ("Outer Wheel," p. 605, n. 5).

[259] I.155, translated in Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 615.

[260] I.154, translated in Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 594. As Newman points out, this information is of course erroneous – Mecca is a city, not a country, and Muhammad was not born in Baghdad – but makes good sense from the point of view of someone living in 11th-century India, dimly aware of the centrality of Mecca in Islamic mythology and of the status of the Caliph at Baghdad as the *de jure* (if no longer *de facto*) leader of the Muslim world (Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 612-613).

> Muhammad, and Mathanī, who is the eighth – he
> will belong to the darkness.[261]

Likewise the mention of the "year 403" must be, as Newman suggests, derived from Muslim sources, and demonstrates the writer's familiarity with the Islamic calendrical system.[262]

The *Kālacakra-tantra* is not simply an apocalyptic prophecy, however. The text as we have it also contains a complex system of soteriology, based on an identity between macrocosm (the universe) and microcosm (the soul).[263] Thus a substantial portion of the text is devoted not to history but to initiation rituals, and it is this aspect of the text that has been emphasized by the current Dalai Lama.[264] While these initiations are designed to lead to insight during one's present lifetime, they are also said to lead to rebirth in

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261 I.154, translated in Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 594. This extremely problematic passage was first translated by Helmut Hoffmann, whose derivations of the underlying Arabic forms of these names from the Sanskrit and Tibetan are still awe-inspiring (see his "*Kālacakra* Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the *Kālacakra Tantra*," *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 13 [1969], pp. 52-73; "Addenda et Corrigenda" in Vol. 15 [1971-72], pp. 298-301). Newman, relying on Hoffmann's work and going beyond it to include the versions of this passage found in a number of Tibetan commentaries, differs from Hoffmann's opinion that the "white-clad one" is a reference to Mani; according to Newman (pp. 603-609) the meaning of the term should be sought rather in the Sufi tradition, and is perhaps a reference to the Angel Gabriel (p. 609). Newman suggests also that the last member of the list, Mathanī ("the destroyer"), may be intended to represent the Mahdi, and that the description of him as "belonging to the darkness" may refer to the doctrine of the occultation (pp. 610-611).

262 I.27; see Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 131. The year 403 A.H. would correspond to A.D. 1012-1013, which further confirms (together with abundant evidence from other sources) the late date of the text.

263 Or rather, the psycho-physical constituents of the individual (see Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 114). Given the Buddhist antipathy for references to the "soul" (*ātman*), it is interesting to note that the parallel drawn in the *Kālacakra* is in fact between the cosmos and the *body* of the individual, or at least so it would seem from Newman's description (pp. 114-123). The text accordingly devotes a great deal of attention to what Newman calls "tantric metaphysiology" (pp. 119-120).

264 Tenzin Gyatso, *The Kālacakra Tantra*, pp. 66-91 and *passim*. See also the additional references cited in Newman, "Outer Wheel," p. 120, n. 4.

Śambhala.[265] Thus one of the many uses of the Śambhala myth in the Tibetan tradition is to guarantee rebirth here on earth during the time of the last *kalkī* and the glorious victory of the Buddhists, a "here-later" scenario analogous to the dominant use of the Maitreya myth in the Tarim Basin a millennium before.[266]

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265 Tenzin Gyatso, *The Kālacakra Tantra*, p. 65.

266 For the "here-later" scenario (that is, a worldview in which the individual looks forward to future rebirth here on earth in the time of Maitreya, or – in the present case – during the "golden age" of the apocalyptic victory of the Buddhists) see Nattier, "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth," pp. 26-28.

CONCLUSIONS: THE PLACE OF THE *CANDRAGARBHA-SŪTRA* IN THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE OF DECLINE

If the Dharma itself – or rather, the practice and teaching of the Dharma – is considered to be transitory, so indeed must be the individual sutras in which its teachings are collected. And the *Candragarbha-sūtra* is certainly no exception. From a peak of popularity in Central Asia during the late first and early second millennia C.E., the *Candragarbha-sūtra* has sunk to a position of almost complete obscurity in modern Tibetan (and Mongolian) Buddhist thought. In East Asia, by contrast, the sutra itself – though not, we should note, the Kasuśāmbī story as such[265] – remains an important point of reference for theories concerning the decline and ultimate disappearance of the Dharma and is of special importance to members of the Pure Land and Nichiren traditions.

To explain the divergent destinies of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in these two regions requires first of all an awareness of the greater context within which the sutra has been received. For Buddhist texts are not simply read by their devotees in isolation, without reference to other scriptures and oral traditions that serve as central points of orientation. To understand the way the *Candragarbha-sūtra* has been interpreted in Tibet and in East Asia, and to understand its eventual abandonment in Tibet in contrast to its ongoing influence in China and Japan, thus requires an examination of the general attitudes toward decline – or more broadly, toward history – that have been

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[265] Most East Asian commentators who have made use of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* as a source for Buddhist decline theory refer not to the Kauśāmbī story itself (with its 1,500-year timetable), nor to the implicit 2,000-year timetable found elsewhere in the same sutra (T. 13.370b8-11), but to the so-called "five five-hundreds" timetable given in the prose section of the 19th chapter of the sutra (T. 13.363a29-b4). Cf. Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma: Textual Sources," section 6, "2,500 years."

current in these different cultural areas.

Beginning with the Tibetan case, it is important first to recall that the Buddhist tradition received by the Tibetans from India lacked any explicit periodization of decline. Though Indian Buddhists eventually adopted the term *kali yuga* (in Tibetan translation *rtsod-pa'i dus*, "the age of fighting") from their Hindu counterparts, the four-*yuga* theory appears only sporadically in Buddhist literature, and never became a central organizing principle in Buddhist thinking. Moreover, though the Buddhists shared with the Hindus the general idea of decline, they never associated its course with the astronomical numbers found in Hindu literature describing the duration of the *kali* age. And the striking contrast between the vastness of these Hindu time schemes and the relatively brief figures for the duration of the Dharma (ranging from 500 to 5,000 years) found in Indian Buddhist texts points to an important difference in perspective: while Hindu decline mythology is clearly cosmic in scope – that is, it describes the decay of the universe as a whole – in Buddhist decline literature the focus is much narrower. Here the "decline of the Dharma" refers not to the decay of the order of the universe as such, but to the fading away and eventual disappearance of the teachings of a specific historical figure.[266]

In Tibet, then, as in India we do not find an explicit periodization scheme for the disappearance of the Dharma. Not only is there no analogue of the East Asian concept of *mo-fa*, but even the term "reflection of the True Dharma" (Skt. *saddharma-pratirūpaka*, Tib. *dam-pa'i chos-kyi gzugs-*

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[266] The proper Buddhist analogue of the Hindu four-*yuga* system is not really the general theory of the decline of the Dharma, nor even the three-period time scheme current in East Asia, but the macrocosmic "oscillating universe" system presented in the *Abhidharmakośa* (see above, pp. 129-131).

brnyan) was generally not understood as constituting a discrete period of time.[267] Rather, the vision of decline was simply that of the gradual ebbing away of the teachings, without any distinctive markers along the way. In such a context a prophecy of the demise of the Dharma like the one contained in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* could only be read in one way: as a prediction of the complete and total eradication of the Buddhist religion, together with a specific timetable for that event.

In China and Japan, however, the sutra was perceived in an entirely different light. By the time Narendrayaśas completed his translation in 566 C.E., the idea of a three-period system of "True Dharma" / "Semblance Dharma" / "End-Dharma" was already well on its way toward general acceptance in China. Thus the assumption of this time scheme resulted in an interpretation of the sutra that differed markedly from that current in Tibet: using the three-period system as their interpretive framework, East Asian Buddhist commentators began to treat the specific timetables found in the *Candra- garbha* and other decline texts not as references to the *total* duration of the Dharma, but only to the extent the pre-*mo-fa* eras of the "True" and the "Semblance" Dharma. Beyond these relatively brief periods stretched the period of the "End-Dharma," which was expected to last for "ten thousand years and more." The very asymmetry of this system – in which the duration of *mo-fa* far exceeds that of either of the other two periods – points to what would eventually become a distinguishing characteristic of

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[267] An exception may be found in the group of visualization texts (the so-called *kuan* sutras) brought to China from Kashmir during the early 5th century (see Alexander Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959), p. 144ff.). In the Chinese translations of these works (most of which are not extant in Sanskrit) the term *hsiang-fa* is ubiquitous, and appears to serve as a justification for the experience of a new and direct divine revelation in the absence of the historical Buddha, Śakyamuni (Raoul Birnbaum: personal communication, 1988).

East Asian Buddhism: the primacy assigned to the task of learning to live in a prolonged (and for all practical purposes, unending) "evil age."

Thus while in Tibet (as in India) a timetable that was believed to have expired could only serve to undercut the legitimacy of the ongoing Buddhist community, and thus had to be explained away, ignored, or (preferably) replaced by a longer timetable,[268] in China and Japan the expiration of a given timetable could be interpreted simply as the definitive confirmation of the onset of *mo-fa*. And since *mo-fa* was understood (by grammatical analogy to the already familiar terms *cheng-fa* "True Dharma" and *hsiang-fa* "Semblance Dharma") not as the demise of the Dharma, but as a discrete period in the history of the Buddhist religion, the apparent expiration of any specific timetable could be viewed not (as was necessarily the case in India and Tibet) as a threat to the Buddhist community's very existence, but as an incentive to formulate new practices appropriate to this decadent age,.

This challenge has evoked a variety of responses from East Asian Buddhist thinkers. For Hsin-hsing (540-594), founder of the "Sect of the Three Stages" (*San-chieh-chiao*), the appropriate response was to redouble one's efforts, since the reduced capacity of those living during the time of *mo-fa* made spiritual accomplishment a much more difficult prospect.[269] In other contexts the idea of *mo-fa* has been used to justify precisely the opposite response: in early 9th century Japan, for example, the author of the *Mappō-tōmyōki* argued that one could hardly expect Buddhist monks to

[268] As already discussed above (p. 134 and n. 253), in Tibet the 2,000-year timetable found in the *Candragarbha-sūtra* was eventually replaced by a 5,000-year scheme, which in turn has been overshadowed by the 5,104-year timetable found in the *Kālacakra-tantra*. The same approach was taken in the Theravāda countries of Southeast Asia, where a 5,000-year timetable propounded by Buddhaghosa has come to be accepted as standard. For the textual references supporting these timetables see Appendix 3, "The Duration of the Dharma," section 9, "5,000 years."

[269] See Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Age*, especially Chapter 2.

adhere fully to the monastic rules during such an evil age, and thus government authorities should not penalize those whose behavior was less than exemplary.[270] While in South, Southeast and Central Asia the threat of decline (and of the ultimate demise of the Dharma) has served largely to elicit conformity with the existing tradition and to reinforce the importance of preserving what is still left of the Dharma, in East Asia a long series of Buddhist leaders – from the Pure Land teacher Tao-ch'o in 6th century China[271] to the Kamakura reformers of 13th-century Japan[272] – have found in the idea of *mo-fa* an incentive to innovation, and have formulated new religious ideas and practices of striking creativity.

The idea of decline, then, is clearly multivalent, and has served a number of seemingly contradictory purposes in Buddhist religious history. Its significance in any given time and place – or for any given individual – will be influenced by a great number of factors, one of the most important of which is the presence, or absence, of a concept of *mo-fa*. The task of living within a prolonged period of "end-Dharma" is much different than that of facing the imminent demise of the Dharma as a whole, and it is not surprising that these two prospects should have evoked very different responses.

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270 In the *Mappō-tōmyōki*, traditionally attributed to Saichō (see Robert Rhodes, "Saichō's *Mappō Tōmyōki*," *The Eastern Buddhist*, n.s. vol. 13, no. 1 [1980], 79-103.

271 On Tao-ch'o's understanding of *mo-fa* and its relevance to Pure Land Buddhist practice see Chappell, *Tao-ch'o*, especially pp. 144-150.

272 With the exception of Dōgen, who objected to the implications for religious practice and attainment of the *mappō* thinking current in his time (see in particular the *Bendōwa* chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō*, a work whose very title may represent an oblique challenge to prevailing understandings of *mappō*), all the great Buddhist leaders of the Kamakura period appear to have formulated their teachings with the idea of *mappō* in mind. The idea is at least as central to Hōnen and Shinran as it was to their Chinese Pure Land predecessors, and Nichiren's religious system is unthinkable without this element (see Kenneth Dollarhide, *Nichiren's* Senji-shō, *An Essay on the Selection of the Proper Time* [New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982]).

CHAPTER 2. THE TIBETAN VERSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains a critical edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Candragarbha-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, together with an annotated English translation based on all of the available Tibetan texts. Because of the large number of recensions used in preparing this edition and because of the substantial divergences among them, I have followed certain special procedures outlined below.

The Tibetan Texts

The critical edition given here has been prepared on the basis of seven copies of the Tibetan text, of which six (a manuscript copy from Tun-huang and the xylograph editions belonging to the Lhasa, Derge, Narthang, Peking 1 and Peking 3 versions of the Kanjur) contain the text in its entirety, while the seventh is a verbatim quotation of more than 80% of the sutra, contained in the *History of Buddhism* (Tib. *Chos-'byung*) composed by the great 14th-century scholar Bu-ston.[1]

My original intention had been to treat all seven recensions of the text together, and to indicate variant readings only in the critical apparatus. A close examination of these seven versions, however, revealed that the divergences among the texts were too substantial to permit their treatment as varying copies of a single work. Rather, the texts fall into three distinct groups, reflecting the continual elaboration and editing of the text within the Tibetan context, and have therefore been edited as such.

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[1] For an English translation see E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston* (Heidelberg: Harrassowitz, 1931-32). The quotation from the *Candragarbha-sutra* appears in Part 2, pp. 171-177.

The Tun-huang manuscript. By far the oldest of the extant versions of the text is the Tun-huang manuscript, which I have transcribed from the original kept in the India Office Library division of the British Museum in London.[2] It is probably to be assigned to a date not later than the mid-9th century C.E., the last period of effective Tibetan control in the Tun-huang area, and in any case is not later than around 1000 C.E., the date at which the cave containing this and thousands of other manuscripts was sealed. The text is a manuscript copy in palm-leaf format, with a string-hole at the center of the page. With the exception of the first page (where the text is written on one side only, with seven lines on the page), the text is written on both sides of the paper, with nine lines per page.

The orthography of the text is typical of Old Tibetan of the imperial period. The letter *m* is regularly written with subscribed *ya* when followed by the vowel *i* or *e* (e.g., མྱེས་ for classical Tibetan མེས་, མྱི་ for classical མི་, etc.), the *'a-chung* (འ་) is applied in positions where classical orthography does not require it, in particular following the nominal suffix *-pa* (as in བཀའ་སྩལ་པའ་ for classical བཀའ་སྩལ་པ་), and the letter *i* is almost invariably written in the reversed position (i.e., ྀ for classical ི), which I have indicated by underlining the letter in the romanized text (ྀ = i̲). Letters that are aspirated in classical orthography are sometimes unaspirated here (e.g., *c* for classical *ch* in བྱང་ཅུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་), or vice versa (*-s.ho* for classical *-so* in the well-known closing formula རྫོགས་སྷོ་ , "[the text titled such-and-such] is completed," a reading also regularly retained in the Peking blockprint Kanjur). Other archaisms can be observed in the spellings of

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[2] See Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 185, text no. 601.1. The current catalogue number in the India Office Library is J601.1.

various suffixes (e.g., *nub-te* for classical *nub-ste*, *gcig-du* for *gcig-tu*, *nad-gyis* for *nad-kyis*, *bcos-ste* for *bcos-te*, etc.), in the reading *las-stsogs-pa* (ལས་སྩོགས་པ་ ~ ལས་སྩོགས་པའ་) for classical *la-sogs-pa*, and in the spelling *ched-po* (which occurs frequently, though not consistently, in the text) for classical *chen-po* "great." In two instances the scribe places an initial *nga* (ང་) before a base consonant, a position in which it does not occur in the classical language; thus we find *ng.gsol* (ངགསོལ་) for classical *gsol*,[3] and *ng.ni* (ངནི་) for classical *ni*.[4]

Two syntactic features are worthy of note. First is the placement in one instance of the word *lnga* "five" before (rather than after) the word it modifies,[5] a feature which also appears regularly in Tun-huang manuscript copies of the *Heart Sūtra*.[6] Second, the plural suffix *-rnams* is frequently (though not consistently) treated as a free-standing collective noun, connected to the previous word or phrase by a genitive particle.[7]

Finally, with respect to punctuation the text exhibits the tendency (also common in Tun-huang texts) to place a *shad* (I) at the end of the line, regardless of whether or not this is syntactically appropriate, a procedure

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[3] Line 145.

[4] Line 218.

[5] Line 106, in the expression *lnga mngon-par shes-pa-zhig*, "one who possesses the five *abhijñās*."

[6] The expression ordinarily rendered *phung-po lnga-po*, "the five *skandhas*," in classical Tibetan regularly appears as *lnga phung* in the manuscript copies of the shorter *Heart Sūtra* (a version not found in the Kanjur) discovered at Tun-huang. These manuscripts, which represent a Tibetan translation based on a Chinese (not Sanskrit) original, are the subject of an article in progress by John R. McRae and myself, to be submitted to the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.

[7] See for example the expressions *sems-can srungs-ma'i rnams* (line 56), *chos-la bgegs byed-pa'i rnams* (line 74), and *dge-'dun-gyi rnams* (line 160). This same usage is preserved in one instance in the Narthang version as well (*mchod-rten-gyi rnams*, line 79).

which produces some rather odd sentence divisions when the symbol is taken as a genuine punctuation mark.

The separate treatment of the Tun-huang manuscript in the critical edition can be justified by its antiquity alone, as well as by the numerous respects in which it diverges from the blockprint editions. I have therefore edited it separately, labeling it "T" in the first line of the critical edition.

The Narthang group. Of the xylograph editions of the text, it is somewhat surprising that the Narthang (*Snar-thang*) and not the Peking edition is the most archaic, since the woodblocks for the Narthang edition were completed only in 1732, while the Peking 1 and 3 editions (discussed below) date from 1692 and 1720, respectively. In fact, however, the Narthang edition maintains readings approximating those of the Tun-huang manuscript in a number of cases where the other xylograph copies, including the Peking editions, have been substantially revised. While it had originally been my intention to treat all the xylograph editions together and to cite variant readings only in the critical apparatus, the Narthang edition proved too divergent to make this feasible, and it has therefore been treated as a second distinct variant of the text (labeled "N" in the critical edition). The version quoted in Bu-ston's *Chos-'byung* is, as one would expect, closer to the Narthang than to any of the other xylograph editions.[8] It has therefore been treated as a variant of the Narthang, and where it diverges from the latter the readings given by Bu-ston are provided in the critical apparatus (labeled "B"). (Note that the portion of the text cited by Bu-ston begins only at our line 37; the earlier lines have thus been edited on the basis of the Narthang xylograph

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[8] On Bu-ston's involvement in the editing of the Zha-lu canon (an expanded version of the "Old Narthang" version) see D. S. Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, *Serie Orientale Roma* vol. 34 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), pp. 20-35.

alone.) For the Narthang edition (text no. 343, vol.76, *mdo-sde* ཨ་, 331a1-336b6) I have used the blockprint Kanjur, printed in black ink on rough paper, kept in the Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard University. For Bu-ston's *Chos-'byung* I have used the photoreproduction published by Lokesh Chandra,[9] where the quotation from the sutra is given on folios 867 (118a according to the Tibetan pagination), line 4 through 873 (Tib. 121a), line 7.

Other xylograph editions. The remaining xylograph editions – drawn from the Peking 1 (P1), Peking 3 (P3), Derge (D) and Lhasa (L) versions of the Kanjur, respectively – are quite close to one another in most respects, and have therefore been treated as variants of a single version and transcribed as such in line X ("xylograph editions"), with variant readings provided in the critical apparatus. Most of the divergences among these texts are relatively minor; the Peking version (in particular, Peking 1) shows the greatest number of archaisms, as one would expect. In a number of cases P1 has maintained an approximation of the spellings of proper names found in the Tun-huang and Narthang versions, while the other xylograph editions (including P3) have been emended to bring the spellings into conformity with their presumed Sanskrit originals.

Since the P3 version is simply a newer printing from the P1 woodblocks with certain intermediate corrections and changes in carving, the catalogue and page numbers of these two versions are identical (text no. 1025, vol. 93, *mdo sna-tshogs* གེ་, 225a1-229b2). For P1 (the earliest known xylograph edition of the Peking Kanjur, printed from blocks completed in 1692) I have used the blockprint edition kept in the Harvard-Yenching Library, a pale but

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9 *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism. Tibetan Text from the Collection of Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971).

legible version printed in now-faded red ink on thick paper of good quality. The copy of this Kanjur kept at Harvard is of particular interest in that it contains hand-made corrections which correspond, in a number of instances, to the emended carvings that appear in later Peking blockprint editions.

For P3 (a slightly later version, incorporating corrections to the woodblocks made through 1720) I have used the Ōtani University photo-reproduction of the Peking Kanjur (Kyoto, 1930). Though the two versions agree in most respects, there are certain striking divergences between them, particularly in the case of proper names (e.g., P1 *Shir-sha-ka* vs. P3 *Shi-sya-ka* in line 147). Where such divergences occur, P1 generally concurs with the Tun-huang and Narthang readings, while P3 corresponds with the later xylograph editions.

The Derge (*Sde-dge*, text no. 356, vol. 76, *mdo-sde* ཨ:, 216a5-220b5) and Lhasa (text no. 364, vol. 76, *mdo-mang* ཨ་, 342ah-349a7) editions – printed from blocks completed in 1733 and 1933, respectively – represent the most recent versions consulted, and these two editions agree with one another in most respects. Certain predictable deviations do occur, most noticeably in the inveterate tendency of the Lhasa editors to place a *shad* (།) after each occurence of the word *dang*, regardless of its grammatical function, and to emend the unpleasant phrase *the-tsom zhus-pa* ("ask [concerning one's] doubts") to *chos zhus-pa* ("ask [concerning] the Dharma"). For both of these editions I have used blockprint copies kept in the Harvard-Yenching Library. The Derge Kanjur is printed in red ink (still vivid as of this writing) on paper of moderate thickness and fair quality, while the Lhasa Kanjur is printed in black ink on thin, good-quality paper, and is widely renowned for its high degree of legibility. The Cone edition, in virtually all respects a derivative of the Derge, has not been consulted, as it is likely to provide little if any

independent information.

Relationship among the Texts

A careful analysis of the content of the Tibetan versions of the *Candra-garbha-sūtra* (in particular, the spellings of proper names and the form of any material found in some but not all versions of the text) makes it possible to determine with a high degree of accuracy the relationship among the seven versions consulted. This information can then be used to produce a stemma (following the methodology outlined in Chapter 1) depicting the nature of these relationships. Only the Lhasa edition must be excluded from the chart, since it represents an intra-Tibetan "critical edition" in itself (that is, the editors of the Lhasa Kanjur consulted a number of different editions of the Kanjur in preparing their own recension) and thus cannot be connected in simple linear fashion with any other edition. Excluding the Lhasa version, then, the relationship among the Tibetan *Candragarbha* editions can be diagramed as shown in Figure 3 (see the following page).

As the form of the stemma suggests, all seven versions can ultimately be derived from a single archetype (indicated by the letter α). There is no evidence that the text was translated into Tibetan more than once; rather, all seven extant versions are descendants of a common ancestor.

Editorial Emendation in the Xylograph Editions

Though the extant Tibetan versions can be traced to a single antecedent, in one respect we must look to a source beyond the *Candragarbha* itself to explain the content of the late (i.e., non-Narthang) xylograph editions. In these versions (that is, the Peking, Derge and Lhasa xylograph editions) the proper names in the text have been subjected to emendation in two respects: the transliterated spellings found in the earlier editions are "corrected" to approximate the presumed Sanskrit originals, on the one hand, and these

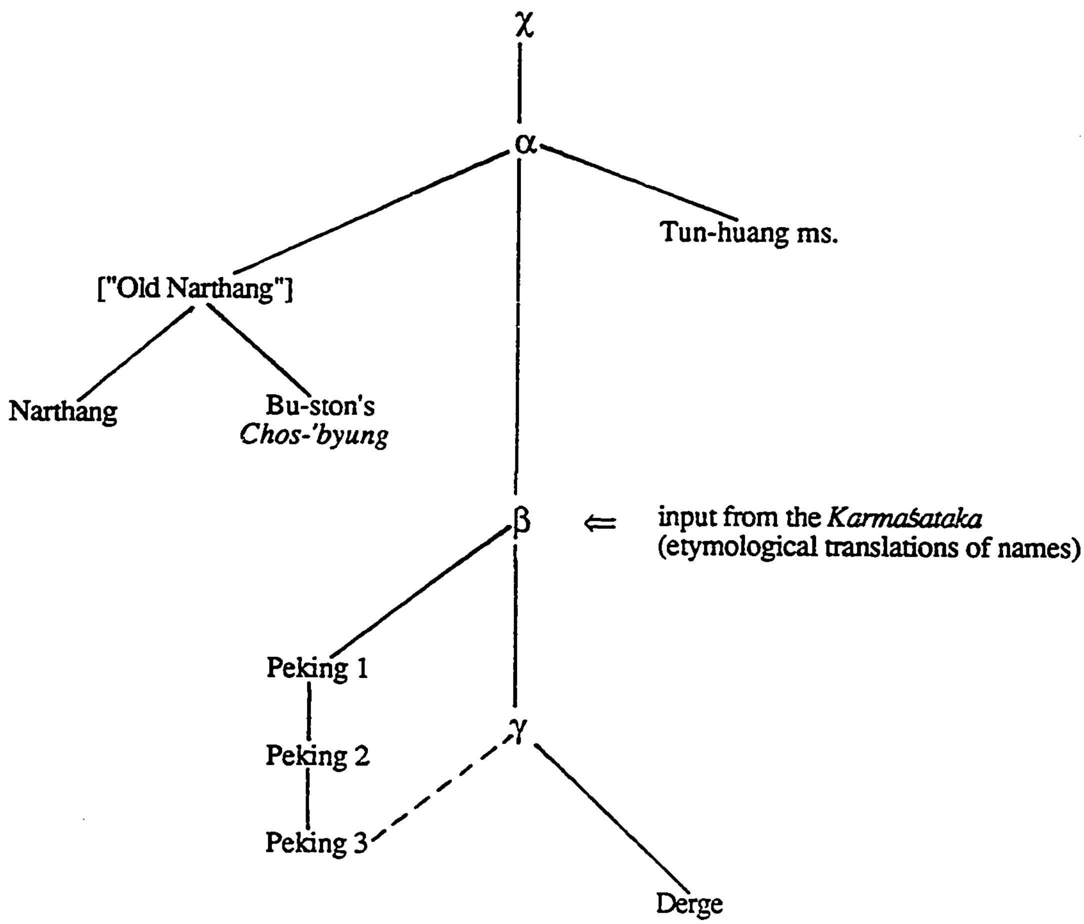


Figure 3. Tibetan Versions of the *Candragarbha-paripṛcchā-sūtra*

In the diagram given above the letter χ refers to the original Tibetan translation of the text, for which no independent evidence is available; α refers to the archetype from which all extant versions can be derived; β represents an amplified version, to which certain additional explanations of the plot as well as Tibetan translations of a number of transliterated personal names have been added; and γ represents a "re-Sanskritized" version of β, in which those transliterated personal names that had suffered from deformation in transmission have been restored to their presumed original Sanskrit spellings. The "Old Narthang" edition of the Kanjur, a manuscript version whose existence is known from references in Tibetan historical sources, is no longer extant. The Peking 3 edition (or possibly Peking 2, a version I have not yet had the opportunity to examine) was revised in light of the changes introduced in γ, hence the double descent lines indicated for Peking 3.

transliterations have been supplemented by etymological translations into Tibetan, on the other. These changes clearly represent an effort on the part of the editors toward bringing the text into conformity with the standards of classical Tibetan translation procedures: that is, the ideal of basing all Tibetan translations on a "correct" Sanskrit text, on the one hand, and the policy of rendering all foreign (usually Sanskrit) proper names into Tibetan translation, not merely transliteration, on the other.

What is peculiar about the changes introduced into the Tibetan *Candragarbha* text, however, is that the insertion of etymological translations *precedes* the correction of the transliterated names. Thus we find in several cases Tibetan translations which do not correspond to the transliterated names given in the text. An example from the Peking 1 edition will suffice to illustrate the problem. Here the name of the *tripiṭaka* master is transliterated as *Shir-sha-ka* (a form which corresponds to the spellings found in the Tun-huang and Narthang editions); it is also translated into Tibetan, however, as *Slob-ma-can*, "he who has disciples" (Tib. *Shir-sha-ka-ste / Slob-ma-can zhes-bya-ba-zhig*, line 143). The transliterated name *Shir-sha-ka*, however – if it were connected with any Sanskrit or Prakrit antecedent at all – would certainly have been derived from *śīrṣaka* "one possessing a head" (< *śīrṣa* "head, skull; top," MW 1078c), not *śiṣyaka* "one possessing disciples" (< *śiṣya*, "student, disciple," MW 1077a). This nonconformity between the transliterated name and its etymological translation strongly suggests that these translations were introduced by the Tibetan editors from another source.

We need not look far to discover what this source might be. A total of four other versions of the Kauśāmbī story are known to exist in Tibetan (three in the "late Khotanese adaptations" category, the other in the *Karmaśataka*).

Of these the *Prophecy of Khotan* contains no proper names at all (with the exception of the name of one of the three evil kings) while the *Religious Annals of Khotan* and the *Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana* give virtually all proper names in transliteration. In the *Karmaśataka*, however, all the proper names have been translated into Tibetan, and the correspondences between these translations and those introduced into the Tibetan *Candragarbha-sūtra* at the level of hyparchetype β are striking. The transliterated name *Agnidati* (not, we should note, an exact reconstruction of the Indian original, which must have been **Agnidatta*) is rendered *Mes-sbyin* in the *Karmaśataka*, and *Mes-byin* in the *Candragarbha*. Śisyaka appears as *Slob-ma-can* in both versions, while Sudhana (the father of Sūrata) is translated as *Tshong-dpon nor-bzangs* in the *Karmaśataka*, and *Tshong-dpon nor-bzang* in the *Candragarbha* (*-bzangs* in P1). Sūrata appears as *Des-pa* in both versions, and the name of the *yakṣa* Dadhimukha is likewise identical, being rendered as *Zho-gdong* ("curd-face") in both. Most telling of all, however, is the rendering of the name of Śisyaka's student Aṅgada in these two texts. The word *aṅgada* means in Sanskrit "a bracelet worn on the upper arm" (see MW 7c); inexplicably, however, the late xylograph editions of the Tibetan *Candrgarbha* render this name as *Aṃ-ga-da-ste Dpung-gi tshogs 'jigs-su rung zhes-bya-ba* "the one called Aṅgada, that is to say, 'Fearful Assembly of the Upper Arm" (line 193). The expression *Dpung-gi tshogs* is almost certainly an editor's (or copyist's) hypercorrection of an original *dpung-*[*gyi*] *rgyan*, "upper-arm ornament," which the copyist must have felt to be an error for the far more common expression *dpung-gyi tshogs*, "assembly of *dpung*," that is, "armed forces" (in which *dpung* is understood as "army" rather than "[upper] arm"; note the similar semantic associations of the two terms in English and in Tibetan). And indeed the *Karmaśataka*

renders this name as *Dpung-rgyan*, "upper-arm ornament." But where did the *Candragarbha* editors get the extraneous element *'jigs-su rung*, "fearful"?

A glance at the relevant section of the *Karmaśataka* provides a ready answer. There the character Aṅgada is introduced in a four-line verse which reads as follows:

> *Slob-ma-can-gyi slob-ma ni* ||
> *Dpung-rgyan zhes-bya 'jigs-su rung* ||
> *de-yis bde-bar gshegs-pa'i sras* ||
> *dgra-bcom Des-pa gsod-par 'gyur* ||

"A student of Śisyaka (*Slob-ma-can*), the fearful [one] called Aṅgada (*Dpung-rgyan*) – he will kill the arhat Sūrata (*Des-pa*), the Sugata's son" (Derge vol. 73, *mdo-sde* ཧ་, 271b2). What has happened here is obvious: the emenders of the *Candragarbha* text simply mistook Aṅgada's epithet *'jigs-su rung*, "fearful," for a part of the translation of his name.

There is no question, then, that it was the *Karmaśataka* that served as the source for the emendation of hyparchetype β of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*. And while this is only an isolated example, it provides an intriguing glimpse into some of the methods used by the editors of the Tibetan canon.

English Translation: Methodology

Because the translation given below is based on a large number of manuscript and xylograph copies, I have employed a rather special set of techniques in rendering the text into English. First, I have used the symbol { } to indicate material that is found in one or more – but not all – versions of the text. Most frequently this is material that is absent from the earlier (Tun-huang and Narthang) editions, but has been added in the Peking, Derge and Lhasa xylographs; occasionally the reverse is true. In each instance I have indicated in a footnote which versions do, and do not, contain this material. In

other cases, where certain versions of the text have replaced material found in other versions with a substitute expression, I have generally translated the reading of the oldest version (that is, the Tun-huang manuscript) and have given the alternative reading(s) in a footnote. Only where the Tun-huang edition is clearly corrupt have I adopted the reading of a later version; in these cases the content of the Tun-huang version is discussed in a footnote.

For those interested in comparing the Tibetan texts with the Mongolian (or for that matter, with any other version of the text), variants in proper names are of particular importance. I have therefore provided all variant readings of proper names in the footnotes.

While such textual variants are given in footnotes (ordered alphabetically) at the bottom of each page, more substantive issues have been discussed in the endnotes (identified by number rather than letter). Here the reader will find discussions of such matters as grammatical usage, etymological questions, and Buddhist technical terms.

The style of the Tibetan *Candragarbha* texts poses a number of challenges to the translator. First of all, though the text is cast in the form of a prophecy and should thus be uniformly in the future tense, all the versions of the text occasionally lapse from future forms into the past. Ideally one would want to reproduce these lapses in the English translation to give the reader a clear idea of the nature of the original. This degree of literalness, however, would be problematic in at least two respects. First, not all versions of the text exhibit these lapses in tense in the same places; thus the task of reproducing each variant would make the translation hopelessly cumbersome. Second, there is not a simple one-to-one correspondence between the English past tense and the Tibetan perfective. What is often described as a "past tense" in Tibetan is in fact simply an indication of a completed action, and that completion may as

well take place in the future as in the past. I have therefore maintained a future tense in my translation throughout, and leave it to the specialist to consult the critical edition for a complete record of these variants.

Yet another difficulty is presented by the less than elegant character of the Tibetan text itself. The Tibetan translation is repetitive, even awkward, in places. In an attempt to be as literal as possible – short of sinking into utter unreadability – I have generally repeated words unnecessarily when the Tibetan does, and have left long and convoluted sentences largely as they are. Where additional words not found in the Tibetan are necessary to save the English from total opacity, I have provided these in brackets.

The resulting translation, based as it is on a total of seven original texts, is thus somewhat experimental in format. Some readers may find the inclusion of *all* the words given in *any* of the texts a bit distracting. This method, however, offers one very important advantage. The synoptic presentation of the content of all seven texts provides an x-ray view of the growth and development of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* in Tibet as it underwent a continual process of expansion and editorial change. By making these layers visible within the translation itself as well as within the critical edition of the text, I hope to make this information available to all readers, whether they have access to the original Tibetan or not.

Tibetan Text

1 T: —
N: —
X: 'Phags-pa Zla-ba'i snying-pos zhus-pa'i mdo-las | sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa

2 T: —
N: —
X: gnas-pa dang[1] 'jig-pa'i tshul lung-bstan-pa |
[1]L inserts |

3 T: sngon sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das Shag-kya thub-pa' | | r[i] Kha-dhirhag-gi
N: sngon sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das Shākya-thub-pa ri Kharhi-hag-gi
X: sngon[1] sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das Shā-kya[2]-thub-pa ri Kha-rhi-rhag[3]-gi
[1]P1 omits *sngon* [2]P3 *Shākya-* [3]P1 *Kha-dhi-rhag*

4 T: steng-na bzhug-ste | | de'*i* tshe phyogs ...u.. byang-cub-s*e*ms-dpa'
N: steng-na bzhugs-te | de'i tshe phyogs bcu'i byang-chub-sems-dpa'
X: steng-na bzhugs-te | de'i tshe phyogs bcu'i byang-chub-sems-dpa'

5 T: sems-dpa'-*chen*-po 'kh*or* dang-bcas *de* dang | dgra-bcom-pa dang |
N: sems-dpa'-chen-po'i 'khor dang-bcas-pa dang | dgra-bcom-pa dang |
X: sems-dpa'-chen-po 'khor dang-bcas-pa dang | dgra-bcom-pa dang |

6 T: lha dang | klu dang gnod-sbyin dang dri-za dang | lha dang | lha-ma-y*i*n
N: lha dang | klu dang | gnod-sbyin dang | dri-za dang | lha-ma-yin
X: lha dang |[1] klu dang | gnod-sbyin dang | dri-za dang | lha-ma-yin
[1]P1,P3 omit |

7 T: dang | myi-'am-ci dang | lto-'phye-chen-po dang | nam-ka-lding dang |
N: dang | mi'am-ci dang | lto-'phye-chen-po dang | namkha'-lding dang |
X: dang | mi'am-ci[1] dang | lto-'phye-chen-po dang | nam-mkha'-lding dang |
[1]P1 *mi-'am-ci*

Key: T = Tun-huang ms.; N = Narthang edition (with variants in Bu-ston's *Chos-'byung* [B] noted beginning in line 37); X = other xylograph editions (D = Derge, P1 = Peking 1 [1692], P3 = Peking 3 [1720], L = Lhasa).

8 T: bdud sdig-can las-stsogs-pa' | mthu-bo-che thams-cad tshogs-pa
N: bdud sdig-can la-sogs-pa mthu-bo-che thams-cad tshogs-pa
X: bdud sdig-can la-sogs[1]-pa mthu-bo-che thams-cad tshogs-pa
[1]P1 *stsogs*

9 T: de'i dus-na | | sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das Shag-kya-thub-pa'i zhal-gyi
N: de'i dus-na | sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das-kyis zhal-gyi
X: de'i dus-na |[1] sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das Shā-kya[2]-thub-pa'i zhal-gyi
[1]P1,P3,D omit | [2]P3 *Shākya-*

10 T: smyin-mtshams-nas | 'od-gzer shar-gyi Lus-'phags dang |
N: smin-mtshams-nas | 'od-zer shar-gyi Lus-'phags dang |
X: smin-mtshams-nas 'od-zer shar-gyi Lus-'phags dang |

11 T: lho'i 'Dzam-bu-gling dang | nub-gyi Ban-lang-spyod dang | byang-gi
N: lho'i 'Dzam-bu'i gling dang | nub-kyi Ba-lang-spyod dang | byang-gi
X: lho'i[1] 'Dzam-bu'i[2]-gling dang | nub-kyi[3] Ban[4]-glang-spyod dang | byang-gi
[1]P3 *lha'i* [2]L *-bu* [3]P3 *-gyi* [4]P1,P3 *ba*

12 T: Sgra-myi-snyan dang | gling 'di bzhir 'od-gzer kun-du khyab-par
N: Sgra-mi-snyan-pa dang | gling 'di bzhi 'od-zer kun-tu khyab-par
X: Sgra-mi-snyan dang | gling 'di bzhir 'od-zer kun-du[1] khyab-par
[1]L *-tu*

13 T: bkram-ste | 'od-gzer btang-ba de'i tshe· | ri Mye-ro 'bar-ba las-stsogs-pa' |
N: bkram-ste | 'od-gzer btang-ba de'i tshe | Me-ro bar la-sogs-pa
X: bkram-ste | 'od-zer btang-ba de'i tshe Ri-rab la-sogs-pa

14 T: ri chen-po dang ri dang | nags-tshal dang· | sman-ljongs sla-sul
N: ri chen-po dang | ri dang nags-tshal dang | sman-ljongs ri-sul
X: ri chen-po dang | ri dang |[1] nags-tshal dang | sman-ljongs[2] | ri-sul |
[1]P,P3 omit | [2]P1,P3 *-ljong*

15 T: gragrog kun-la myi-snang-bar mnyam-ste | | lag-mthil dang 'dra-bar
N: grag-grogs kun-la yang snang-bar snyam-ste | lag-mthil dang 'dra-bar
X: grag-grog kun-la yang[1] snang-bar mnyam-ste | lag-mthil dang 'dra-bar
[1]L *-la'ang*

16 T: gling bzhi-char gsal-zhing snang-bar gyur | | 'od-gzer de-dag-las
N: gling bzhi-gcig-car snang-bar gsal-bar gyur | 'od-gzer de-dag-las
X: gling bzhi-car[1] snang-bas gsal-bar gyur[2] | 'od-zer de-dag[3]-las
[1]P1,P3 *bzhi-bcar* [2]L *'gyur* [3]P3 *-dak-* [sic]

17 T: sangs-rgyas phal-po-che'i sku-gzugs kha-dog dang | dbyibs sna-tshogs
N: sangs-rgyas phal-po-che'i sku-gzugs kha-dog dang dbyibs sna-tshogs
X: sangs-rgyas-kyi sku-gzugs kha-dog dang[1] dbyibs sna-tshogs
[1]L inserts |

18 T: 'od dang bcas-pa | phal-po-che byung-ba | byang-cub sems-dpa'[1] dang |
[1]ms. *sems-pa'*
N: dang-bcas phal-po-che byung-ba | byang-chub-sems-dpa' dang |
X: 'od dang-bcas-pa phal-po-che byung-ba | byang-chub-sems-dpa' dang |

19 T: klu las-stogs-pa' | sems-can kun-gyis mthong-ste ngo-mtshar-du
N: lha dang | klu la-sogs-pa sems-can kun-gyis mthong[1]-ste ngo-mtshar-du
[1]xyl. *mthod*
X: lha dang | klu la-sogs-pa sems-can mang-po kun-gyis mthong-ste ngo-mtshar-du[1]
[1]L omits *-du*

20 T: gyur-to | | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das Shag-kya-thub-pa-la | Be-sha-ra-ma-na
N: gyur-to | | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das Shākya-thub-pa-la | Bai-shrar-ma-na
X: gyur-to | |[1] de-nas bcom-ldan-'das Shā-kya[2]-thub-pa-la Bai-shra-wa-na[3]
[1]L | [2]P3 *Shākya-* [3]P1,P3 *Be-sha-ra-ma-na*

21 T: las-stsogs-pa' | rgyal-po ched-po bzhis gsol[1]-pa' | | 'od-gzer 'di-lta-bu
[1]ms. *gs.lo* [sic]
N: la-sogs-pa rgyal-po chen-po bzhi[s] gsol-pa | 'od-zer de-lta-bu
X: la-sogs-pa rgyal-po chen-po bzhis gsol-pa | 'od-zer 'di-lta-bu[1]
[1]P1,P3 *-bus*

22 T: de'i don-du mdzad-pa gang lags shes zhus-pa-las | | bcom-ldan-'das-gyis
N: ci'i don-du mdzad-pa lags shes-pa-las | bcom-ldan-'das-kyis
X: de ci'i don-du[1] mdzad-pa lags[2] zhes zhus-pa-las | bcom-ldan-'das-kyis
[1]P1,P3 *-tu* [2]P3 adds |

23 T: bka'-stsal-pa' | | nga mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-du | | gling bzhir
N: bka'-stsal-pa | nga mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu gling gzhir
X: bka'-stsal-pa | nga mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu gling bzhir

24 T: ngas gsungs-pa'i dam-pa'i chos-gyi gsung-rab dang | ring-bsrel dang |
N: ngas dam-pa'i chos-kyi gsung-rab dang | ring-bsrel dang |
X: ngas gsungs-pa'i dam-pa'i chos-kyi gsung-rab dang | ring-bsrel[1] dang |
[1]P1,P3 *-srel*

25 T: gzugs-brnyan 'di-lta-bu-dag 'byung-ste | 'di khyed-kyi lag-du gtad-do | |
N: gzugs-brnyan 'di-lta-bu-dag 'byung-ste | 'di khyod-kyi lag-tu btad-do
X: gzugs-brnyan 'di[1]-lta-bu-dag 'byung-ste | 'di khyed-kyi lag-tu gtad-kyis
[1]D *'d[i]*

26 T: srungs-shig | | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das-la | byang-cub-sems-dpa'
N: srungs-shig | | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das-la byang-chub-sems-dpa'
X: srungs[1]-shig | |[2] de-nas bcom-ldan-'das-la byang-chub-sems-dpa'
[1]P1,P3 *bsrungs* [2]L |

27 T: Zla-ba'*i* snying-pos gsol-pa' | | bcom-ldan-'das 'di-lta-bu'i thugs-rje
N: Zla-ba'i snying-pos zhus-pa | bcom-ldan-'das 'di-lta-bu rdzu[1]-'phrul
[1]xyl. *rju-*
X: Zla-ba'i snying-pos gsol-pa | bcom-ldan-'das |[1] 'di-lta-bu'i thugs-rje
[1]P1,P3 omit |

28 T: ched-pos bcom-ldan-'das | mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-du dam-pa'i chos
N: chen-pos | bcom-ldan-'das mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu | dam-pa'i chos
X: chen-pos bcom-ldan-'das mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu dam-pa'i chos

29 T: rgyal-po ched-po-la gtad-pa thugs-rje che'o | | snga-ma
N: rgyal-po-la gtad-pa thugs-rje che[-ba] | snga-ma
X: rgyal-po chen-po-dag-la gtad[1]-pa shin-tu[2] ngo-mtshar-to | snga-ma
[1]P1,P3 *gtang* [2]P1,P3 *-du*

30 T: 'das-pa'i sangs-rgyas mya-ngan-las-'das-nas | | lo-dgung bdun l*ags*-[1B]-nas | |
N: 'das-pa'i sangs-rgyas mya-ngan-las 'das-pa-nas | dgung-lo bdun lags-nas
X: 'das-pa'i sangs-rgyas mya-ngan-las 'das-nas dgung-lo bdun[1] lags-nas
[1]P1 *dun*

31 T: dam-pa'i chos-gyi gzugs-brnyan nub[1]-na | bcom-ldan-'das

[1]ms. abbrev. *-brnyan nub-* as *-brnyanub-*

N: dam-pa'i chos-kyi gzugs-brnyan nub-na | bcom-ldan-'das

X: dam-pa'i chos-kyi gzugs-brnyan nub-na | bcom-ldan-'das

32 T: Shag-kya-thub-pa mya-ngan-las-'das-pa'i 'og-du | | dam-pa'i chos

N: Shākya-thub-pa mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu dam-pa'i chos

X: Shā-kya[1]-thub-pa mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu dam-pa'i chos

[1]P3 *Shākya-*

33 T: ci-tsam-du gnas-par 'gyur | | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das-gyis

N: ji-tsam-gyi bar-du gnas-par 'gyur | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das-kyis

X: ji-tsam-gyi bar-du gnas-par 'gyur | de-nas bcom-ldan-'das-kyis

34 T: bka' stsal-pa' | | 'di-lta-bu the-tsom zhus-pa legs-so | | legs-par nyon-cig

N: bka' stsal-pa | 'di-lta-bu'i the-tshom zhus-pa legso legs-so | | nyon-cig

X: bka' stsal-pa | 'di-lta-bu'i the-tshom[1] zhus-pa legs-so | | legs-par nyon-cig

[1]P1,P3 *-tsom*; L replaces *the-tshom* with *chos*

35 T: dang ngas bshad-do / *nga mya-ngan*-las 'das-nas | dam-pa'i chos-gyi

N: dang ngas bshad-do | | nga mya-ngan-las 'das-nas dam-pa'i chos-kyi

X: dang | ngas bshad-par bya'o | | nga mya-ngan-las 'das-nas dam-pa'i chos-kyi

36 T: gzugs-brnyan lo nyi-stong-du gnas-par 'gyur-ro | | byang-cub-sems-dpa'

N: gzugs-brnyan lo nyis-stong gnas-par 'gyuro | | byang-chub-sems-dpa'

X: gzugs-brnyan lo nyis[1]-stong-du gnas-par 'gyur-ro | | byang-chub-sems-dpa'

[1]P3 *nyi-*

37 T: Zla-ba'i snying-pos gsol-pa' | bcom-ldan-'das dam-pa'i cho*s* 'di

N: Zla-ba'i snying-pos gsol-pa | [1]bcom-ldan-'das dam-pa'i chos 'di

[1]B begins here; = Narthang except as noted

X: Zla-ba'i snying-pos gsol-pa | bcom-ldan-'das |[1] dam-pa'i chos 'di

[1]P1,P3,D omit |

38 T: mtha' ci-lta-bur nub | | rgyu c*i*-las nyams sus ma-mchis-par bgyis | |

N: tha-mar ji-ltar nub-par 'gyur | rgyu ci-las nyams | sus ma-mchis-par bgyid[1]|

[1]B adds *ces zhus-pa-na*

X: tha-mar ji-ltar nub-par 'gyur | rgyu ci-las nyams | sus ma-mchis-par bgyid |

39 T: bka' stsal-pa' | | mya-ngan-las-'das-'pa'*i* 'og-du lo lnga-brgya-'i̲ bar-du |
N: bka' stsal-pa |[1] nga mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu lo lnga-brgya'i bar-du |[3]
[1]B omits *bka' stsal-pa* | [2]B omits *mya-ngan-las* [3]B omits |
X: bka' stsal-pa | nga mya-ngan-las 'das-pa'i 'og-tu lo lnga-brgya'i bar-du

40 T: nga'i̲ bstan-pa spyod-pa'i̲ sems-can-rnams grol-thar-pa mang-du
N: nga'i bstan-pa spyod-pa'i sems-can rnam-par grol-ba mang-du
X: nga'i bstan-pa-la spyod-pa'i sems-can rnam-par[1] grol-ba mang-du
[1]P3 replaces *rnam-par* with *-rnams*

41 T: 'gyur-ro | | de-nas yang lo lnga-brgya'i̲ bar-du | ti̲ng-nge-'dzi̲n spyod-pa
N: 'gyur[1] | de-nas lo lnga-brgya'i bar-du tinge[2]-'dzin spyod-pa
[1]B *'byung* [2]B *ting-nge*
X: 'gyur-ro | | de-nas lo lnga-brgya'i bar-du ting-nge-'dzin-la spyod-pa

42 T: mang-du 'gyur | rgyal-po dang sems-can
N: mang-du 'gyur[1] | rgyal-po dang |[2] sems-can phal-po-che[3]
[1]B *'byung* [2]B omits | [3]B *phal-cher*
X: mang-du 'gyur-ro | | rgyal-po dang |[1] blon-po dang | sems-can phal-rnams
[1]P1,P3 omit |

43 T: dam-pa'i̲ chos-la dad-ci̲ng spyod-pa yang phyi̲r-zhi̲ng
N: dam-pa'i[1] chos-la dad-cing |[2] spyod-pa yang[3] phyir-zhing
[1]B omits *dam-pa'i* [2]B omits | [3]B *ni*
X: kyang dam-pa'i chos-la dad-cing spyod-pa'ang[1] phyir-zhing
[1]P1,P3,D *-pa yang*

44 T: nyung-bar 'gyur-ro | | de-nas lo lnga-brgya'i̲ bar-du | dam-pa'i[1] chos
[1] ms. inserts | (*sic*; note that this occurs at the end of the line)
N: nyung-bar 'gyuro[1] | | de-nas lo[2] lnga-brgya'i bar-du dam-pa'i chos
[1]B *'gyur-ro* [2]B omits *lo*
X: nyung-bar 'gyur-ro | | de-nas lo lnga-brgya'i bar-du dam-pa'i chos

45 T: ston-ci̲ng sems-can 'dren-ci̲ng thar-par byed-pa'i̲ 'slobs-dpon[1]
[1] hand-corrected from earlier *-pon*
N: ston-cing |[1] sems-can 'dren-pa dang |[1] thar-par[2] byed-pa'i slob-dpon
[1]B omits | [2]B *-bar*
X: ston-cing sems-can 'dren-pa dang | thar-par byed-pa'i slob-dpon

46 T: mang-du 'byung | | nyan-thos dang dgra-bcom-ba ni nyung-bar 'gyur |
N: mang-du 'byung |[1] nyan-thos-kyi dgra-bcom-pa[2] ni nyung-bar 'gyuro[3] |
[1]B omits | and adds *-la* [2]B adds *-nyid* [3]B *'gyur-ro*
X: mang-du 'byung-ngo |[1] nyan-thos dgra-bcom-pa ni nyung-bar 'gyur-ro |
[1]P1,P3 | |

47 T: rgyal-po dang blon-po dang sems-can phal-gyi-rnams kyang |
N: rgyal-po dang |[1] sems-can phal-gyi-rnams[2] kyang[3]
[1]B omits | [2]B omits *-gyi-rnams* [3]B *yang*
X: rgyal-po dang |[1] blon-po dang | sems-can phal-rnams kyang
[1]P1,P3 omit |

48 T: nyan-pa-tsam-du zad-gyi nyamsu len-cing spyod-pa'am |
N: nyan-pa[1] tsam-du zad-kyi |[2] nyamsu[3] len-cing spyod-pa'am[4] |[2]
[1]xyl. *-par* [2]B omits | [3]B *nyams-su* [4]B *-pa-la* [5]
X: nyan-pa-tsam-du zad-de | nyams-su len-cing spyod-pa'am[1] |
[1]P1,P3 *-pa-'am*

49 T: brtson-'grus ni myi-byed-de | dad-pa 'bri-bar 'gyuro | dam-pa'i chos-gyi
N: brtson-'grus ni[1] mi-byed |[2] dad-pa 'bri-bar 'gyur-ro | | dam-pa'i chos-kyi
[1]B omits *ni* [2]B adds *-la* and omits |
X: brtson-'grus ni mi-byed-de | dad-pa 'bri-bar 'gyur-ro | | dam-pa'i chos-kyi

50 T: srungs-ma-rnams kyang myi-dga'-bar 'gyur-te | | dam-pa'i chos-la
N: srungs-ma-dag[1] kyang mi-dga'-bar 'gyur-te |[2] dam-pa'i chos-la
[1]B *-rnams* [2]B omits |
X: srungs[1]-ma-rnams kyang mi-dga'[2]-bar 'gyur-te | dam-pa'i chos-la
[1]P1,P3 *bsrungs* [2]D *-dgra-* [*sic*]

51 T: ma-dad-pa'i sems-can-rnams ni | | sngon-bas mthu dang stobs
N: ma-dad-pa-rnams ni sngon-pas mthus dang[1] stobs
[1]B omits *dang*
X: ma-dad-pa'i sems-can-rnams[1] ni sngon-pas mthu-stobs
[1]L omits *-rnams*

52 T: skyes-par gyur-te | | 'Dzam-bu gling-gi myi'i rgyal-po-rnams kyang |
N: s[ky]eso[1] | | 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi mi'i[2] rgyal-po-rnams kyang
[1]B *skye'o* [2]B omits *mi'i*
X: skye-bar 'gyur-ro | | 'Dzam-bu[1]-gling-gi mi'i rgyal-po-rnams kyang
[1]P1,P3, D *-bu'i*

53 T: phan-tshun gcig-la-gcig dmag 'dren-cing 'khrug-par 'gyur-ro | |
N: phan-tshun gcig-la-gcig dmag 'dren-cing |[1] 'khrug-par 'gyur-ro | |
[1]B omits |
X: phan-tshun gcig[1]-la-gcig dmag 'dren-cing 'khrug-par 'gyur-ro | |
[1]P1,P3 *cig*

54 T: bdud-gyi ris kyang 'phel-bar 'gyur-ro | | de-nas yang lo lnga-brgya'i tshe· |
N: — de-nas yang[1] lo lnga-brgya'i tshe |[2]
[1]B omits *yang* [2]B omits *tshe* |
X: bdud-kyi ris kyang 'phel-bar 'gyur-ro | | de-nas yang lo lnga-brgya'i tshe[1]
[1]P3 *che*

55 T: lo sum-brgya ni dam-pa'i chos-la gnas-pa'i lha klu las-stsogs-pa |
N: lo[1] gsum-brgya[2] ni |[2] dam-pa'i chos spyod-pa'i lha klu la-sogs-pa |[3]
[1]B omits *lo* [2]B *sum-brgyar* [3]B omits |
X: lo sum-brgyar ni[1] dam-pa'i chos-la gnas-pa'i lha klu la-sogs-pa |
[1]P1 *na*

56 T: sems-can srungs-ma'i rnams myi-gnas-shing | | dam-pa'i chos-la
N: sems-can srungs-ma[1]-rnams mi-gnas-shing |[2] —
[1]B omits *sems-can srungs-ma* [2]B omits |
X: sems-can srungs[1]-ma-rnams mi-gnas-shing dam-pa'i chos gang-du
[1]P1,P3 *bsrungs*

57 T: dar-par 'gro-bar 'gyur | | —
N: — sems[1]-can[2] chos-la ma-dad-par 'gyur |
[1]xyl. *sens*[sic!] [2]B adds *-rnams*
X: dar-bar 'gro-bar 'gyur |[1] sems-can chos-la ma-dad-par 'gyur |
[1]P1,P3 | |

58 T: sems-can chos spyod-pa-rnams[1] kyang | chos-kyi gzhung-bzhin ma-spyad |
[1]ms. abbrev. *rnaᵒs*
N: sems-can[1] chos spyod-pa-rnams kyang |[2] chos-kyi gzhung-bzhin mi-spyod |[3]
[1]B omits *sems-can* [2]B omits | [3]B omits | and adds *-pa-dang*
X: sems-can chos spyod-pa-rnams kyang chos-kyi gzhung-bzhin-du[1] mi-spyod |[2]
[1]P1,P3,D omit *du* [2]P1,P3 | |

59 T: brtson-'grus chung-bas 'grub-pa nyung-bar 'gyur | | kha-dog bzhi dang
N: brtson-'grus chung-bas grub-pa yang[1] nyung-bar 'gyur | |[1] kha-dog bzhi dang
[1]B *grub-pa'ang* [2]B |
X: brtson-'grus chung-bas[1] grub[2]-pa nyung-bar 'gyur |[3] kha-dog bzhi dang |[4]
[1]P1 *tshungs-pa*; P3 *tshungs-pas*, D *chungs-pas* [2] P3 *gub* [3] P1,P3 | | [4] P1,P3 omit |

60 T: bzhi-las-gyur-pa yang 'bri | ro las-stsogs-pa yang chung-bar 'gyur-ro | |
N: bzhi-las gyur-pa yang[1] dri dang[2] ro la-sogs-pa chung[3]-par 'gyuro[4] | |
[1]B *gyur-pa'ang* [2]B omits *dang* [3]xyl. *chud* [4]B *'gyur-ro*
X: bzhi-las gyur-pa yang[1]'bri | dri dang | ro la-sogs-pa'ang[1] chung-bar 'gyur-ro | |
[1]L *gyur-pa'ang*

61 T: myi-nad phyugs-nad dang | mu-ge yang 'byung-bar 'gyur-ro | |
N: mi-nad[1] phyugs-nad dang mu-ge yang[2] 'byung-bar[3] 'gyuro[4] | |
[1]B adds *dang* [2]B *mu-ge'ang* [3]B *'byung-ngo* [4]B omits *'gyuro*
X: mi-nad dang | phyugs-nad dang | mu-ge'ang[1] 'byung-bar 'gyur-ro | |
[1]P1,P3,D *mu-ge yang*

62 T: lo nyis-brgya-la dge-slong yang dam-pa'i chos-bzhin myi-spyod |
N: lo nyis-brgya-la dge-slong yang chos-bzhin mi-spyod |
X: lo nyis-brgyar ni dge-slong yang chos-bzhin mi-spyod |

63 T: 'jig-rten-gyi khe dang grags-pa tshol | | snying-rje chung | khrims-la
N: 'jig-rten-gyi khe dang grags-pa tshol | snying-rje chung tshul-khrims-la
X: 'jig-rten-gyi khe dang[1] grags-pa tshol |[2] snying-rje chung-zhing khrims-la
[1]L inserts | [2]L omits |

64 T: myi-gnas | dam-pa'i chos ma-nor-par spyod-pa-la ni |
N: mi-gnas | dam-pa'i chos ma-nor-pa[1] spyod-pa-la ni
[1]B *-bar*
X: mi-gnas | dam-pa'i chos tshul-bzhin spyod-pa-rnams-la ni

65 T: *g* . . *b*kr[u]n-cing skur-pa 'debs| longs-spyod dang yo-byad 'phrog | |
N: bkrun-cing[1] bskur[2]-pa 'debs | longs-spyod dang yo-byad 'phrog |
[1]B omits *bkrun-cing* [2]B *skur*
X: glan-ka tshol-zhing skur-pa[1] 'debs | longs-spyod dang |[2] yo-byad 'phrog |
[1]P1,P3 *bskur-ba* [2]P1,P3,D omit |

66 T: 'jig-rten-gyi rgyal-po'i gsang-⌊la⌋ rten-cing | rgyal-srid 'dzin |
N: 'jig-rten-gyi rgyal-po'i gsang-la rten-cing |[1] rgyal-srid 'dzin[2]
[1]B omits | [2]B adds |
X: 'jig-rten-gyi rgyal-po'i gsang-la rten[1]-cing rgyal-srid 'dzin |
[1]P1,P3 *brten*

67 T: rgyal-po-pha 'grin[1]-pa'i pho-nyar ngo-'phral tshol[2]-zhing' gro | |
[1] hand-corrected from earlier *'brin* ? [2] ms. inserts | [*sic*]
N: rgyal-po'i phrin[1]-par 'gro-zhing ngo-'phral[2] tshol[3] |
[1]B *'phrin* [2]B *'phral* [3]N xyl. *chol*
X: rgyal-po'i phrin-pa'i pho-nyar ngo[1]-phral tshol-zhing 'gro |
[1]P1,P3 *ro* [sic!]

68 T: rgyal-po dang 'bangs-gyi srid 'khrug-pa'i dbyen byed | nyo-tshong dang
N: rgyal-po dang 'bangs 'khrugs-pa'i[1] dbyen byed | nyo-tshong dang
[1]B *'byed-pa'i*
X: rgyal-po dang | 'bangs-srid 'khrugs[1]-pa'i dbyen byed | nyo-tshong dang |[2]
[1]P1,P3 *'khrug* [2]D omits |

69 T: khe-spogs byed | | thabs tshol dam-pa'*i* chos spyod-pa yang snying-nas
N: khe-spogs[1] byed |[2] thabs tshol[3] dam-pa'i chos spyod-pa yang[4] snying-nas ni[5]
[1]B *-sogs* [2]B omits | [3]B adds | [4]B *spyod-pa'ang* [5]B omits *ni*
X: khe-spogs[1] byed[2] thabs tshol |[3] dam-pa'i chos spyod-pa'ang[4] snying-nas
[1]P1,P3 *phogs* [2]P1,P3 insert | [3]P1,P3 omit | [4]P1,P3,D *-pa yang*

70 T: nyams-su blangste | myi s[py]od-gyi | | phal-cher kha-gsag dang
N: nyamsu[1] blangs-te |[2] mi-spyod-kyi |[2] phal-cher kha-gsag dang
[1]B *nyams-su* [2]B omits |
X: nyams-su blangs-te mi-spyod-kyi |[1] phal-cher kha-gsag dang |
[1]P1,P3 omit |

71 T: 'phral-gyi tshul 'chos-pa ya-ma brla byed-de | de'i dus-na' | | chos-la
N: 'phral-gyi[1] tshul 'chos-pa ya-ma rla-byed |[2] de'i dus-nas chos-la
[1]B omits *'phral-gyi* [2]B replaces *'chos-pa ya-ma rla-byed* | with *'chos byed-do* | |
X: 'phral-gyi tshul 'chos-pa'i ya-ma brla[1]-byed-de | de'i dus-na chos-la
[1]P1,P3 *rla*

72 T: dga'-ba'i lha klu thams-cad-gyis | rgyal-khams-gyi dge-slong de-ltar
N: dga'-ba'i lha klu thams-cad-kyis khams-kyi dge-slong 'di-ltar
X: dga'-ba'i lha klu thams-cad-kyis rgyal-khams-kyi dge-slong 'di-ltar

73 T: spyod-pa'i sa-gzhi bor-te I I myi-gnas-shing bdud-ris las-stsogs-pa
N: spyod-pa'i sa-gzhi[1] bor-te mi-gnas-shing I bdud-kyi ris la-sogs[2]
[1]B adds *de* [2]B adds *-pa*
X: spyod-pa'i sa-gzhi bor-te mi-gnas-shing I bdud-kyi ris la-sogs-pa

74 T: chos-la bgegs byed-pa'i rnams der byung-ste I I mthu dang stobs
N: chos-kyi bgegs-rnams der 'byung-ste I[1] mthu dang stobs
[1]B omits I
X: chos-kyi bgegs-kyi ris-rnams der 'byung-ste I mthu dang I[1] stobs
[1]P1,P3,D omit I

75 T: sky[e]-bar 'gyur I rgyal-po dang blon-po las-stsogs-pa dad-pa 'bri I I
N: skye-bar 'gyur I rgyal-po dang I[1] blon-po la-sogs-pa dad-pa bri[2]
[1]B omits I [2]B adds I
X: skye-bar 'gyur I rgyal-po dang I[1] blon-po la-sogs-pa dad-pa 'bri I
[1]L adds *blon-p[o] dang* I

76 T: dge-sdig-gi mtshams myi-zin I I dam-pa'i chos-la rma 'byin I I
N: dge-sdig-gi mtshams mi-zin I dam-pa'i chos-la rma 'byin I
X: dge-sdig-gi dmigs mi-phyed I dam-pa'i chos-la rma 'byin I

77 T: dkon-mchog-gi dkor dang I dge-'dun-gyi rdzas-la spyod-cing
N: dkon-mchog gsum-gyi dkor dang dge-'dun-gyi rdzas-la
X: dkon-mchog gsum-gyi dkor dang dge-'dun-gyi rdzas-la spyod-cing

78 T: rku 'phrog byed I sdig-la myi-'dzem I gzugs-brnyan dang
N: rku 'phrog byed I sdig-pa-la mi-'dzem I[1] gzugs-brnyan dang
[1]B omits I
X: rku 'phrog byed-de sdig-la mi-'dzem I gzugs-brnyan dang I[1]
[1]P1,P3, D omit I

79 T: mchod-rten-gyi khams khad-gyis[1] bshig-shing mchod-pa'i yo-byad ni bri I I
[1]written twice in ms. (*khad-gyis khad-gyis*)
N: mchod-rten-gyi[1] rnams khad-kyis bshig I mchod-pa'i yo-byad bri[2] I
[1]B omits *-gyi* [2]B *'bri*
X: mchod-rten-rnams khad-kyis[1] bshig I[2] mchod-pa'i yo-byad phri I
[1]P1,P3 *khang-gyis* [sic!] [2]L omits I

80 T: de'i̱ tshe-na dam-pa'i̱ chos ma-nor-par spyod-pa | dge-slong dang
N: de'i tshe dam-pa'i chos ma-nor-par[1] spyod-pa[2] |[3] dge-slong dang
[1]B *-bar* [2]B *-pa'i* [3]B omits |
X: de'i tshe dam-pa'i chos ma-nor-bar spyod-pa dge-slong dang |

81 T: khyi̱m-pa 'ga'-'ga'-tsam gnas-pa de'i̱ bsod-nams-kyi̱s yul-phyogs-su
N: khyim-pa 'ga'-tsam[1] gnas-pa de'i[2] bsod-nams-kyis yul-phyogsu[3]
[1]B omits *-tsam* [2]B replaces *gnas-pa de'i* with *gnas-pa'i* [3]B *phyogs-su*
X: khyim-pa 'ga'[1]-tsam gnas-pa de'i bsod-nams-kyis yul-phyogs-su
[1]P1,P3,D *'ga'-'ga'-* [sic!]

82 T: kha-char dus-dus-su bab-ci̱ng | myi̱ phyugs-la nad nyung-zhi̱ng
N: kha-char dus-su bab[1]-cing lo legs[2] |[3] mi-nad phyugs-nad nyung-zhing
[1]B *'bab* [2]B adds *-pa-dang* [3]B omits |
X: char chu dus-su 'bab-cing lo legs | mi-rgyags-la nad nyung-zhing

83 T: yul bde-ba-dag[1] yod | | 'di̱-lta-bu myi̱-gnas-pa der phal-cher ni̱
[1] an illegible letter is inserted before *-dag* in the ms.
N: yul bde-ba-dag kyang yod[1] | 'di[1]-lta-bu mi-gnas-pa phal-cher ni
[1]B *'byung-la* [2]B *de*
X: yul bde-ba-dag kyang bar 'ga' 'byung | de-lta-bu mi-gnas-pa phal-cher ni

84 T: sdug-bsngal myi̱-bde-ba sna-tshogs 'byung | | de'i̱ dus-na | rgya-gar dang |
N: sdug-bsngal[1] mi-bde-ba sna-tshogs 'byung[2] de'i dus-na[3] rgya-gar dang |[4]
[1]B adds *dang* [2]B adds *-ngo* | [3]B *dus-su* [4]B omits |
X: sdug-bsngal mi-bde-ba sna-tshogs 'byung | de'i dus-su rgya-gar dang |

85 T: rgya ma-yi̱n-ba | rgyal-po ched-po gsum 'byung-ste | | gsum-la
N: rgya ma-yin-pa[1] rgyal-po chen-po gsum 'byung-ste | gsum-la[2]
[1]B *-pa'i* [2]B omits *chen-po gsum 'byung-ste | gsum-la*
X: rgya ma-yin-pa'i rgyal-po chen-po gsum 'byung-ste | gsum-la |

86 T: Ya-bha-na dang | Pa-la-ba dang | Sheg-ku-na dang | 'di̱ gsum
N: Yā[1]-ba-na-ba dang | Ba-la-bā[2] dang | Shi-ku-na 'di[3] gsum[4]
[1]B *Ya-* [2]B *Ba-lā-ba* [3]B replaces *'di* with *zhes-bya-ba* [4]B adds *'byung-zhing de-dag*
X: Ya-ba-na dang | Ba-lhi-ka dang | Sha-ku-na dang | 'di-dag[1] gsum
[1]P1, D *'di-'di* [sic!]

87 T: dam-pa'i[1] chos myi-spyod | dmag 'dren-cing 'thab-rtsod | nub-*tsa* dang

[1] ms. *dim-pa'i* [*sic*]

N: dam-pa'i chos[1] mi-spyod[3] |[4] dmag 'dren[2]-cing 'thab-rtsod[5] |[4] nub dang

[1]B adds *-bzhin* [2]N xyl. *'drin-* [3]B adds *-par* [4]B omits | [5]B adds *byed-pas*

X: dam-pa'i chos mi-spyod | dmag 'dren-cing g.yul 'gyed[1]-de | nub dang[2]

[1]L *'byed* [2]L inserts |

88 T: byang-gi yul-khams mang-mo-zhig myed-par byas | | yul-khams de'i

N: byang-gi yul-khams mang-po-zhig[1] med-par byas |[2] yul-khams de'i

[1]B omits *-zhig* [2]B omits |

X: byang-gi yul-khams mang-po-zhig 'bebs-par byed-de | de-nas yul-khams de'i

89 T: mchod-rten dang gtsug-lag-khang las-stsogs-pa bshig myeds btang |

N: mchod-rten dang |[1] gtsug-lag-khang bshig[2] mes 'tang [sic] |[1]

[1]B omits | [2]B adds | [3]B *bsregs*

X: mchod-rten dang[1] gtsug-lag-khang la-sogs-pa yang bshig-cing mes[2] bsregs[3]-te |

[1]L inserts | [2]L *me* [3]P1,P3 *sregs*

90 T: mchod-pa'i yo-byad dang | dkon-mchog gsum-gyi dkor las-stogs-pa

N: mchod-pa'i yo-byad dang |[1] dkon-mchog-gi dkor la-sogs-pa

[1]B omits |

X: dge-'dun-gyi yo-byad dang |[1] dkon-mchog gsum-gyi dkor la-sogs-pa'ang[2]

[1]P1,P3,D omit | [2]P1,P3,D *yang*

91 T: phrogs bcom | rgyal-po 'di gsum[1] gcig-la-gcig gnod-pa sna-tshogs-gyis

[1]ms. abbrev. *g°su* [*sic*]

N: phrogs[1] bcom[2] | rgyal-po 'di[3] gsum gcig-la-gcig gnod-pa sna-tshogs-kyis[4]

[1]B *'phrog* [2]B *bcom-ste* [3]B *de* [4]B omits *sna-tshogs-kyis*

X: brogs[1]-shing bcom-ste | rgyal-po 'di gsum gcig[2]-la-gcig[2] gnod-pa sna-tshogs-kyis

[1]P1,P3 *phrogs*, D *phregs* [2]P1,P3 *cig*

92 T: thab-mo byed | | gsum-car-gyi rgyal-srid myi bde-bar 'gyur | |

N: 'thab-mo[1] byed[2] |[3] gsum-car[4]-gyi rgyal-srid mi-bde-bar 'gyur[5] |[3]

[1]B omits *'thab-mo* [2]B adds *-pas* [3]B omits | [4]B *-char* [5]B adds *-nas*

X: 'thab[1]-mo byed-de | gsum-car-gyi rgyal-srid mi-bde-bar 'gyur-ro | |

[1]P1,P3,D *thab*

93 T: de'i rjes-la rgyal-po 'di gsum mjal dum-ste | srid gcig-du byas | |

N: de-nas rgyal-po[1] 'di[2] gsum[3] mjal[4] dum[5]-ste |[6] srid gcig-tu byas[7]

[1]B omits *de-nas rgyal-po* [2]B *de-dag* [3]B omits *gsum* [4]B *mdza'* [5]B *'dum*
[6]B omits | [7]B adds *-te*

X: de'i rjes-la rgyal-po de gsum nang-srid gcig[1]-tu byas-nas

[1]P1,P3 *cig*

94 T: dmag mang-po 'dus-nas | | rgya-gar-gyi yul 'Ga'-'ga-'i tshu-rol

N: dmag mang-po 'dus[1]-nas | rgya-gar-gyi yul-yul[2] 'Ga'-'ga'i[3] tshu-rol

[1] B *bsdus* [2] B omits second *yul* [3] B *Gang-ga'i* (abbrev. *Ga°-ga'i*)

X: dmag mang-po 'dus-te |[1] rgya-gar-gyi yul chu-bo[2] Gang-gā'i tshu-rol

[1]P1,P3,D omit | [2] P1,P3 *chu'o*

95 T: 'Ga'-'dha-ra dang | Mad-dha-dhe-sha las-stsogs-pa'i yul phrogs-nas bzung | |

N: 'Gan-dha-ra[1] dang | Ma-ha[2]-de-sha la-sogs-pa'i[3] yul[4] phrogs[5]-nas bzung[6] |[7]

[1]B *Gandha-ra* [2]B *-hâ-* [3]B *-pa* [4]B omits *yul* [5]B *'phog* [sic]
[6]B *'dzin-par 'gyur-ro* [7]B | |

X: Gan[1]-da-ra dang | Ma-ddya-de-sha[2] la-sogs-pa'i yul phrogs-nas bzung |

[1]P1 *Bgan-*, P3 *'Gan-* [2]P1,P3 *Ma-dhya-dhe-sha*

96 T: de'i dus-na 'Ga'-'ga'i pha-rol lho-phyogs-na | | Ke'u-sham-'byi'i yul-na

N: de'i dus-na[1] 'Ga'-'ga'i[2] pha-rol lho-phyogs-na |[3] Ko'u-sha-bi'i[4] yul-na

[1]B replaces *dus-na* with *tshe* [2]B *Gang-ga'i* (abbrev. *Ga°-ga'i*) [3]B omits |
[4]B *Ko'u-shambhi'i*

X: de'i dus-na chu-bo Gang-gā'i pha-rol lho-phyogs-kyi[1] rgyun[2]-na | yul
Ko'u-shām-bī[3] zhes-bya-ba'i

[1]P3 *-gyi* [2]P1,P3,D *rgyud* [3]P1,P3 *Ke'u-sham-bhi*

97 T: rgyal-po Mhen-dra-se-na zhes-bya-ba de-la bu-zhig byung-ba |

N: rgyal-po Ma-he-na-'dra-se[1] zhes-bya-ba de[2]-la bu-zhig 'byung-ba[3]

[1]B *Ma-hendra-se-na* [2]B omits *de* [3]B *btsas-pa'i*

X: rgyal-po Ma-hen-dra-se-na zhes-bya-ba de-la sras-zhig btsas-te |

98 T: mying ni Drus-sprha-lha-hra zhes-bya-ba-zhig byung-ste | |

N: de'i[1] ming ni[2] Tu[3]-pra-sa-ha zhes-bya-zhig 'byung-ste |[4]

[1]B omits *de'i* [2]B omits *ni* [3]B *Du-* [4]B omits *-zhig 'byung-ste* |

X: de'i ming ni Du-spra[1]-sa-ha-sta zhes-bya-ste |

[1]L *-sbra-*

99 T: smyin-mtsams-na lcags-gyi smye-ba-can | gru-mo m.ran[1]-cad
[1]a short vertical stroke is attached to the top of the letter ར་ in the ms.
N: smin-mtshams-na lcags-kyi sme[1]-ba-zhig[2] yod-pa |[3] gru-mo man-chad
[1]B *rme* [2]B omits *-zhig* [3]B omits | and adds *lag-pa'i*
X: smin-mtshams-na lcags-kyi sme-ba-zhig yod-pa |[1] lag-pa gru-mo man-chad
[1]P1,P3 omit |

100 T: khrag-gis bskus-pa-zhig byung | de-dang dus gcig-du
N: khrag-gis bskus-pa-zhig 'byung-ba[1] de-dag dang lhan-cig-tu[2] |
[1]B *-ngo* | | [2]B replaces *lhan-cig-tu* with *dus-mnyam-du*
X: khrag-gis bskus[1]-pa-zhig 'byung[2]-ngo | | de-dang dus gcig-tu rgyal-po de'i
[1]L *bkus* [2]D *phyung*

101 T: blon-po lnga-brgya bu khye'u lnga-brgya byung-ste | ril-gyis
N: blon-po lnga-brgya-la bu 'byung-ba yang | ril-gyis[1]
[1]B omits *'byung-ba yang | ril-gyis*
X: blon-po lnga-brgya-la yang[1] khye'u[2] lnga-brgya btsa'[3]-ste | de[4] ril-gyis[5]
[1]L *-'ang* [2]D *bu khye'u* [3]P1,P3 *btsa* [sic] [4]L omits *de* [5]P1,P3,D *ril yang*

102 T: lag-pa 'khrig-ma man-cad khrag-can-du byung | | de'i dus-na
N: lag-pa[1] khrig[2]-ma man-chad khrag-can-du 'byung[3] de[4] dang dus gcig-tu[5]
[1]B *-pa'i* [2]B *mkhrig* [3]B replaces *'byung* with *byas-pa lnga-brgya btsa'o* | |
[4]B adds *-dag* [5]B replaces *gcig-tu* with *mnyam-du*
X: lag-pa khrig-ma[1] man-chad khrag-can-du 'byung[2]-ste | de'i dus-na
[1]P3,D *khrig-pa*, L *mkhrig-ma* [2]P1,P3 *gyur* [hand-corrected in P1]

103 T: rgyal-po'i rte'u smra-shes-pa gcig kyang byung |
N: rgyal-po de-la rte'u sm[ra]-shes-pa-cig[1] kyang 'byung[2] |
[1]B *-zhig* [2]B adds *-ste*
X: rgyal-po'i rta-la rte'u smra-shes-pa-shig[1] skyes-te |
[1]P1,P3 *-cig;* D *-zhig*

104 T: de'i nub-mo —
N: de'i nub-mo yang[1] —
[1]B omits *yang*
X: rgyal-po dang | blon-po dang | rte'u smra-shes-pa skyes-pa'i nub-mo'ang

105 T: gnam-las khrag-gi char-pa-dag kyang bab-nas| | rgyal-po Men-drha-se-nas| |

N: gnam-las[1] khrag-gi char bab-nas[2] | rgyal-po[3] Ma-he-na-'dra-se-nas |[4]

[1]B *nam-mkha'-la* [sic] [2]B *-bo* [3]B *-pos* [4]B omits *Ma-he-na-'dra-se-nas* |

X: nam-mkha'-las khrag-gi char-pa bab-nas | rgyal-po Ma-hen-dra[1]-se-nas

[1]P1,P3 *-gra-*

106 T: drang-srong[1]-gi mkhan-po lnga mngon-bar shes-pa-zhig-la |

[1] hand-corrected from *-sring-*

N: drang-srong-gi mkhan-po[1] lnga mngon-par shes-pa[2]-zhig-la |[3]

[1]B omits *-gi mkhan-po* [2]B adds *-can* [3]B omits |

X: drang-srong-gi mkhan-po lnga mngon-par shes-pa-zhig-la

107 T: bdag-cag 'khor-gyi bu dang rta-la ya-mtshan 'di-lta-bu byung | |

N: bdag-gi[1] 'khor-du bu dang | rta ya-mtshan 'di-lta-bu byung |[2]

[1]B *de-dag-gis* [2]B omits *'khor-du bu dang | rta ya-mtshan 'di-lta-bu byung* |

X: bdag-cag 'khor-gyi bu dang | rta-la ya-mtshan 'di-lta-bu byung-ba dang |

108 T: khrag-gi char-pa bab-pa ci'i ltas shes brtags-pa-dang | drang-srong na-re |

N: khrag-gi char bab-pa[1] | ci'i ltas shes brtags-pa-las[2] | drang-srong na-re |[3]

[1]B omits *khrag-gi char bab-pa* | [2]B replaces *ci'i ltas shes brtags-pa-las* with *mtshan-ltas dris-pas* [3]B omits *na-re* | and adds *rgyal-po*

X: khrag-gi char-pa bab-pa 'di ci'i ltas[1] zhes smras-pa dang | drang-srong na-re |[2]

[1]P1,P3 *bltas* [2]P1,P3,D omit |

109 T: khyod-gyi bus 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi sa-gzhi 'di myi-khrag-gis

N: khyod-kyi bus 'Dzam-bu'i gling-gi sa-gzhi[1] 'di mi'i[2] khrag-gis

[1]B adds *-la* [2]B omits *'di mi'i*

X: khyod-kyi bus 'Dzam-bu'i gling-gi sa-gzhi[1] 'di mi'i khrag-gis

[1]P1,P3 *-bzhi*

110 T: gsher-par byas | | de'i 'og-du khyod-gyi bu 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi

N: gsher-bar byas-nas[1] |[2] de'i 'og-tu 'Dzam-bu'i gling-gi

[1]B *byas-te* [2]B omits |

X: gsher-bar byed-par 'gyur-ro | | de'i 'og-tu khyod-kyi bu 'Dzam-bu'i gling-gi

111 T: rgyal-po byed-par 'gyur-te | |
N: rgyal-po chen-po[1] byed-par 'gyur[2] zhes smras-so[3] | |[4]
[1]B omits *chen-po* [2]B *'gyur-ro* | | [3]B replaces *smras-so* with *lung-bstan-no*
[4]B adds *de-nas*
X: rgyal-po chen-po byed-par 'gyur-ro[1] zhes smras-so | |
[1]P1,P3 add | |

112 T: thog-ma btsas-nas lo bcu-gnyis lon-pa-dang | de'i tshe
N: rgyal-bu btsas-nas lo bcu-gnyis lon-pa-dang | de'i tshe[1]
[1]B replaces *de'i tshe* with *sngar-gyi*
X: rgyal-bu de thog-ma btsas-nas lo bcu-gnyis lon-pa-dang | de'i tshe

113 T: rgyal-po Ya-ba-na dang | | Pa-la-ba dang | Shag-ku-na gsum
N: rgyal-po Ya-ba dang |[1] Ba-lā-ba dang | Sha-ku-na[2] gsum
[1]B omits | [2]B replaces *Ba-lā-ba dang | Sha-ku-na* with *la-sogs-pa*
X: rgyal-po Ya-ba-na dang | Ba-lhi-ka dang | Sha-ku-na gsum

114 T: 'dus-pa'i dmag sum-'bum rgyal-po dang cha-ste | | rgyal-po
N: 'dus-pa'i dmag sum-'bum rgyal-po dang chas[1] rgyal-po
[1]B adds *-te*
X: 'dus-pa'i dmag sum-'bum rgyal-po dang-bcas-te | rgyal-po

115 T: Men-dra-se-na'i yul-du drangs-pa-las | yul-du dmag phal-po-che
N: Ma-he-na-'dra[1]-se-na'i yul-du drangs-pa-las[2] | yul-du[3] dmag phal-po-che[3]
[1]B *Ma-hendra-* [2]B *-na* [3]B omits *yul-du* [4]B omits *phal-po-che*
X: Ma-hen-dra-se-na'i yul-du drangs-pa-las | yul-du dmag phal-mo-che

116 T: byung-bas | rgyal-po snying myi-dga'-ste | mya-ngan byed-cing
N: byung-bas rgyal-po snying[1] mi-dga'-ste |[2] mya-ngan byed-cing
[1]B omits *snying* [2]B omits |
X: byung-bas rgyal-po snying mi-dga'-ste | mya-ngan byed-cing

117 T: 'dug-pa-las | bu Du-spra-ba-sam [*sic*] | pha-la dris-pa yab 'di-ltar
N: 'dug-pa-las[1] |[2] bu Du-pras-has[3] pha-la dris-la |[4] yab[5] 'di-lta-bu[6]
[1]B *-la* [2]B omits | [3]B *Du-pra-sa-has* [4]B omits *pha-la dris-la* | [5]B adds *-la* [6]B *-bu'i*
X: 'dug-pa-la bu Du-spra-sa-hastas[1] pha-la dris-pa | yab |[2] 'di-ltar
[1] P1,P3 *-ha-stas* [2] P1 omits | (removed by hand)

118 T: thugs myi-dgyeds-pa ci-las gyur | ces zhus-pa dang | pha *na-re*
N: thugs mi-dgyes-pa ci-las gyur ces zhus-pa-las[1] | pha na-re[2]
[1]B replaces *zhus-pa-las* with *dris-pa-dang* [2]B adds |
X: thugs mi-dgyes-pa ci-las gyur ces zhus-pa-dang | pha na-re |[1]
[1]P1,P3,D omit |

119 T: *rgyal-po* byin-po-che gsum-gyi dmag bdag-cag-gi yul-du byung-bas myi-dga'
N: rgyal-po byin gsum-gyi dmag bdag-cag-gi yul-du[2] byung-bas mi-dga'[2]
[1]B omits *bdag-cag-gi yul-du* [2] B *-dga'o* | |
X: rgyal-po gsum-gyi dmag-byin chen-po bdag-cag-gi yul-du byung-bas mi-dga'

120 T: zhes smras-pa-dang | bu na-re yab myi-dgyes-su ma-mdzad-cig | |
N: zhes smraso | |[1] bus smras-pa[2] yab mi-dgyesu[3] ma-mdzad-cig |[4]
[1]B *smras-pa-dang* | [2]B omits *smras-pa* [3]B *-dgyes-su* [4]B | |
X: zhes smras-pa-dang | bus smras-pa | yab |[1] mi-dgyes[2]-su ma-mdzad-cig |[3]
[1]P1,P3,D omit | [2]P3 *-bgyes-* [3]P1,P3 | |

121 T: yab myi-dgyes-su ⌊ma⌋-mdzad-cig | | dmag 'di-dag bdag-gis thub-par bgyi'o
N: — dmag 'di[1] bdag-gis thub-par bgyi'o[2]
[1]B adds *-dag* [2]B adds | |
X: — dmag 'di bdag-gis thub-par bgyi'o[1]
[1]P1 adds | [recheck others]

122 T: zhes-pa-dang | <ba> pha na-re legs-so zhes-smras-*te* | bu dang
N: zhes[1]-pa-dang |[2] pha na-re legso[3] zhes smras[4]-nas |[5] rgyal-po[6]
[1]B adds *smras-* [2]B omits | [3]B *legs-so* [4]B *zer* [5]B adds *de-nas* [6]B adds *bu de*
X: zhes bgyis[1]-pa-dang | pha na-re |[2] legs-so zhes smras-nas | bu dang |[2]
[1]P1,P3 *bgyi* [2]P1,P3,D omit |

123 T: blon-po'*i* mtshan-ma-can lnga-brgya las-sts*o*gst*e* [*d*...............]
N: blon-po'i bu ya-mtshan-can lnga-brgya la-sogs-te[1] dmag nyis-'bum
[1]B *-pa*
X: blon-po'i[1] bu ya-mtshan-can lnga-brgya la-sogs-te | dmag nyis-'bum
[1]P1,P3 *-po'i*

124 T: [.........] btang-nas | | thab-mo byas-pa'ị tshe | smyịn-mtshams-na
N: dang-chas-nas thab[1]-mo byas-pa'i tshe |[2] smin-mtshams-nas
[1]B *'thab* [2]B omits |
X: bcas-te btang-nas 'thab[1]-mo byas-pa'i tshe | smin-mtshams-na
[1]P1,P3,D *thab*

125 T: lcags-gyị smye-ba yod-pa bskyed-nas | lus rịl-gyịs lcags-su byas-nas |
N: lcags-kyi sme-ba-la[1] skyed[2]-nas |[3] lus ril-gyis lcagsu[4] byas-nas[5] |[6]
[1]B omits *-la* [2]B *bskyed* [3]B omits | [4]B *lcags-su* [5]B *-te* [6]B omits |
X: lcags-kyi sme[1]-ba yod-pa bskyed-nas lus ril lcags-su byas-nas[2]
[1]P1,P3 *rme* [2]L *-na*

126 T: rab-du khros-te brgal | | Du-spra-sa-ha'ị dmag rgyal-te |
N: rab-tu khros-te[1] brgyal-ba-dang | Du-spra[2]-sa-ha'i dmag rgyal-te |[3]
[1]B *-nas* [2]B *-pra-* [3]B omits |
X: rab-tu khros-nas brgal[1]-ba-dang | Du-spra-sa-hasta'i[2] dmag rgyal-te
[1]P1,P3 *brgol* [2]P1,P3 *-ha-sta'i*

127 T: phyịr log-pa-dang | pha na-re bu khyod-gyịs rgyal-po gsum-gyị dmag
N: phyir log-pa-dang | pha na-re[1] bu khyod-kyis rgyal-po gsum-gyi dmag
[1]B adds |
X: phyir log-pa-dang | pha na-re[1] bu[1] khyod-kyis rgyal-po gsum-gyi dmag
[1]L inserts |

128 T: 'dị-lta-bu dang | thab-mo byas-pa-las rgyal-ba legs-so | | da phyịn-cad
N: 'di-lta-bu dang |[1] thab-mo byas-pa-las[2] rgyal-ba legso[3] : |[4] da phyin-chad
[1]B omits | [2]B replaces *thab-mo byas-pa-las* with *'thab-pa-las* [3]B *legs-so*
[4]B replaces : | with | |
X: 'di-lta-bu dang 'thab[1]-mo byas-pa-las rgyal-ba legs-so | | da phyin-chad
[1]P1,P3,D *thab*

129 T: khyod-*kyịs* rgyal-srịd zung-shịg | nga ni 'byung-ngo zhes bsgo-nas
N: khyod-kyis rgyal-srid zung[1]-shig | | nga ni 'byungo[2] zhes bsgo[3]-nas
[1]B *zungs* [2]B *'byung-ngo* [3]B *bsgos*
X: khyod-kyis rgyal-srid zung-shig |[1] nga[2] ni 'byung-ngo zhes bsgo-nas
[1]P1,P3,D | | [2]P1,P3 *da* [sic]

130 T: rgyal-srid kyang bus bzung-ngo | |
N: rgyal-srid bus bzung[1] | |
[1]B adds *-ngo*
X: srid kyang[1] bu-la byin-no | |
[1]P1 omits *kyang*

131 T: de-nas lo bcu-gnyis-gyi bar-du | rgyal-po gsum-gyi dmag dang
N: de-nas lo bcu-gnyis-kyi bar-du |[1] rgyal-po gsum-gyi dmag dang
[1]B omits |
X: de-nas lo bcu-gnyis-kyi bar-du rgyal-po gsum-gyi dmag dang

132 T: 'thabs-pa-las | dmag mang-po ril-gyis gtugs | | rgyal-po gsum
N: 'thabs[1]-pa-las |[2] dmag mang-po yang[3] ril-gyis[4] btubs[5] | rgyal-po gsum
[1]B *'thabs* [2]B omits | [3]B *mang-po'ang* [4]B *rims-kyis* [5]B *gtugs*
X: 'thabs-pa-las dmag-dpon yang ril-gyis gtubs[1] | rgyal-po gsum
[1]P1,P3 *btubs*

133 T: yang bzung-nas | | myed-par byas-so | | de phyin-cad 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi
N: yang bzung-nas med-par byas-so | | de phan-chad 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi
X: yang bzung-nas med-par byas-so | | de tshun-chad[1] 'Dzam-bu'i-gling-gi
[1]D *-cad*

134 T: rgyal-po byed[1]-par gyur-ro | | de-nas rgyal-pos blon-po-rnams-la
[1]ms. *myed*
N: rgyal-po[1] byas-par gyur-to | | de-nas rgyal-po[2] blon-po-rnams-la
[1]B adds *chen-po* [2]B *-pos*
X: rgyal-po chen-po byas-par gyur-to | | de-nas rgyal-pos blon-po-rnams-la

135 T: dris-pa | nga 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi rgyal-po ched-po byed-pa ni dga' |
N: smras-pa |[1] nga 'Dzam-bu'i-gling-gi rgyal-po byed-pa ni dga'-na |
[1]B omits *smras-pa* |
X: smras-pa | nga 'Dzam-bu'i-gling-gi rgyal-po chen-po byed-pa ni dga'-na

136 T: gud-na myi-dga'-ba-cig kyang yod ces smras-pa-dang |
N: gud-nas mi-dga'-ba-zhig yod ces smraso | |[1]
[1]B omits entire line
X: gud-pa[1] mi-dga'-ba-zhig kyang yod ces smras-pa-dang |
[1]P1,P3,D *-na*

137 T: blon-pos smras-pa' | ci myi-dgyes shes zhus-pa-dang |
N: blon-po-rnams-kyis | ci mi-dgyes zhes dris-pa-dang |[1]
[1]B omits entire line
X: blon-po-rnams-kyis smras-pa | ci mi-dgyes zhes zhus-pa-dang |

138 T: sems-can mang-po 'di snyed-cig bsad-pa sdig che-bas myi-dga'[1]-na |
[1]ms. inserts |
N: sems-can mang-po'i de-snyed[1]-cig bsad-pa'i[2] sdig-pa che-bas mi dga'-na[3] |[4]
[1] xyl. *snyad* [2]B *-pas* [3]B *-bas* [4]B omits |
X: sems-can mang-po 'di-snyed-cig bsad-pa[1] sdig[2] che-pas[3] mi-dga'-na |
[1]P1,P3 *bsang-ba* [2]P1,P3 *sdig-pa* [3]P1,P3 add |

139 T: sdig 'di ci-lta-bu-zhig-du byas-na 'byang-bar 'gyur
N: sdig-pa 'di-lta-bu-zhig-tu[1] byas-nas[2] |[3] sus[4] 'byang-bar 'gyur
[1]B replaces *'di-lta-bu-zhig-tu* with *'di ji-lta-bu* [2]B *-na* [3]B omits | [4]B omits *sus*
X: sdig 'di ji-lta-bu-zhig-tu[1] byas-na[2] 'byang[3]-bar 'gyur
[1]P1,P3 *-du* [2]D,L add *sus* [3]P1,P3 *'byad* [sic]

140 T: zhes smras-pa-dang | blon-pos gsol-pa | Yul Ba-da-li'i-pod-tra
N: zhes smras[1]-pa-dang | blon-po-rnams-kyis[2] smras-pa[3] |[4] yul Bo-da-li-po-tra[5]
[1]B *dris* [2]B omits *-kyi* [3]B replaces *smras-pa* with *na-re* [4]B omits |
[5]B *Pa-ṭa-li-pu-tra*
X: zhes smras-pa-dang | blon-po-rnams-kyi[1] gsol-pa | Yul Pa-ṭa-li-pu-tra[2]-ste
[1]P1,P3,D *-kyis* [2]P1 *Ba-ta-li-bu-tra*; P3 *Pa-ṭa-li-phu-tra*

141 T: zhes-bgyi-ba-na | | chos-gyi mkhan-po sde-snod gsum shes-pa | |
N: zhes-bgyi-ba[1]-na |[2] chos-kyi mkhan-po sde-snod gsum shes-pa |[3]
[1]B omits *zhes-bya-ba* [2]B omits | [3]B omits | and adds *zhes-pa*
X: Dmar-bu-can zhes-bya-ba-na chos-kyi mkhan-po sde-snod gsum-la mkhas-pa |

142 T: bram-ze Ag-na-tra-ta'i bu |
N: bram-ze A-kan-dra-dha'i bu
X: bram-ze Ag-ni-da-ti-pu-tra[1]-ste Mes-byin-gyi bu zhes-bya'o | | ming[2] ni
[1]P1,P3 *Ag-ne-ta-ti-bu-tra* [2]P1,P3 *mid* [sic]

143 T: Shir-sha-ga ces-bya-ba'i bu-zhig dgon-ba'i sa-la gnas-pa de | |
N: Shir-sha-ka[1] zhes-bgyi-ba-zhig dgon-pa'i[2] sa[3]-na gnas-pa de
[1]B replaces *Shir-sha-ka* with *Slob-ma-can* ! [2]B *-pa* [3]B omits *sa*
X: Shi-sya-ka[1]-ste | Slob-ma-can zhes-bya-ba-zhig dgon-pa'i gnas-na gnas-pa de
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*; P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka* [sic!]

144 T: spyan-drangs-na sdig de 'byang-bar 'bgyid-pa'i mgo-thog-go
N: spyan-drangs-nas[1] |[2] sdig[3] 'byang-bar bgyid mgo-thogs[4]
[1]B *-na* [2]B omits | [3]B adds *-pa* [4]B replaces *rngo-thogs* with *nus-so*
X: spyan-drangs-nas mchod-bkur bgyis-na[1] sdig-pa[2] 'byang mgo-thogs-so[3]
[1]P1,P3 *ni* [2]P1 hand-corrected to *'pā'i* [sic!] [3]P1,P3 *thog-go*

145 T: zhes gsol[1]-pa-dang | rgyal-po dga'-nas | | dge-slong Shir-sha-ga
[1]ms. *ng.gsol* [*sic*]
N: ces gsol-pa[1]-dang | rgyal-po dga'-nas dge-slong Shir-sha-ka[2]
[1]B *zer-ba* [2]B replaces *Shir-sha-ka* with *Slob-ma-can*
X: zhes gsol-pa-dang | rgyal-po yang dgyes-nas dge-slong Shi-sya-ka[1]
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*; P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka*

146 T: 'gugs-pa' btang-nas | rgyal-po'i drung-du'o 'ongs-so | |
N: yang 'gugs-pa btang-ste rgyal-po'i drung-du 'ongso | | [1]
[1]B replaces entire line with *spyan-drangs-nas*
X: yang 'gugs-pa btang-nas rgyal-po'i drung-du 'ongs-so | | de-nas

147 T: mkhan-po Shir-she-ka-la rgyal-pos phyag-bya-ste | |
N: mkhan-po Shir-sha-ka-la[1] rgyal-pos phyag-byas-te
[1]B omits *mkhan-po Shir-sha-ka-la*
X: mkhan-po Shi-sya-ka[1]-la rgyal-pos phyag-byas-te | mkhan-po[2]
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka* [2] P1 *-pos*

148 T: sdig-pa byas-pa'i-rnams | thabs ci-zhig-gis sbyangs zhes zhus-pa-dang |
N: sdig[1] byas-pa[2]-rnams[3] ci-zhig-gis byang-bar 'gyur[4] zhes zhus-pa-dang |[5]
[1]B adds *-pa* [2]B omits *byas-pa* [3]B adds *thabs* [4]B replaces *byang-bar 'gyur* with *'byang* [5]B adds *des*
X: bdag-gis sdig byas-pa-rnams cis 'byang-bar 'gyur zhes gsol-pa-dang |

149 T: dkon-mchog gsum-la lo bcu-gnyis-gyi bar-du | mchod-cing
N: dkon-mchog gsum-la lo bcu-gnyis-kyi bar-du[1] mchod-cing |[2]
[1]B replaces *-kyi bar-du* with *-su* [2]B omits |
X: mkhan-po smras-pa | rgyal-po[1] chen-po dkon-mchog gsum-la lo bcu-gnyis-kyi bar-du mchod-cing
[1] P3 *-pos* [*sic*]

150 T: skyabs gsol-na | sdig 'byang-bar[1] 'gyur-ro zhes byas-so | |
[1] ms. *'byung-bar* [*sic*]
N: skyabsu[1] gsol-na |[2] sdig-pa 'byang-bar[3] 'gyuro[4] zhes byaso[5] | |
[1]B *skyabs-su* [2]B omits | [3]B *-ngo* [4]B omits *'gyuro* [5]B *byas-so*
X: skyabs-su song-na sdig[1]-rnams 'byang-bar 'gyur-ro zhes smras-pa-dang |
[1]P1,P3 add *-pa*

151 T: de-nas 'Dzam-bu-gling-na dge-slong 'dug-go-cog 'gugs-pa btang-ste |
N: de-nas 'Dzam-bu-gling-na dge-slong 'dug-gi chog[1]-la 'gug[2]-pa btang-ste |[3]
[1]B *'dug-go-cog* [2]B *'gugs* [3]B omits |
X: de-nas rgyal-po Du-spra-sa-ha-stas pho-nya mang-po phyogs-bcur btang-ste |[1]
[1] P1,P3 *-te*; P1, P3 add *Dzam-bu'i gling-na dge-slong 'du-go-cog bkug-te* |

152 T: ril-gyis 'Ga'-'ga'i pha-rol
N: ril-gyis[1] 'Ga'-'ga'i pha-rol-tu [2]
[1]B *thams-cad* [2]B omits *'Ga'-'ga'i pha-rol-tu*
X: 'Dzam-bu'i gling-gi dge-slong ril[1] 'ongs-te | chu-bo Gang-ga'i pha-rol
[1] P1, P3 *ril-po*

153 T: yul Ke'u-sham-'byi'i rgyal-po gnas-par bsdus-ste | |
N: yul[1] Ko'u-sha-bi-na[2] rgyal-po gnas-par[3] bsdus-te[4] | [5]
[1]B omits *yul* [2]B *Ko'u-sham-bhir* (xyl. abbrev. *Ko'u-sha°-bhir*) [3]B omits *rgyal-po gnas-par* [4]B *-nas* [5]B omits |
X: yul Ko'usām-bī'i[1] rgyal-po Du-spra-sa-ha-sta'i gnas ga-la-ba der bsdus-pas
[1] P1 *Ke'u-sham-ha'i* [sic]; P3 *Ko'u-sham-ba'i*

154 T: yul-sa gzhan-du chos spyod-par myi-ster-par 'gyur-ro | |
N: yul gzhan-du chos spyod-du mi-ster-bar 'gyuro[1] | |
[1]B *gyur-to*
X: yul-khams gzhan[1] chos spyod-pa dang | dge-slong-dag med-par 'gyur-ro[2] | |
[1]P1,P3 add *-na* [2]P1,P3 *gyur-to*

155 T: dge-slong bsdus-pa de'i tshe | lam-du chud zos-pa yang mang |
N: dge-slong[1] bsdus-pa de'i tshe[2] lam-du[3] chud zos-pa[4] yang mang |[5]
[1]B adds *-rnams kyang* [2]B omits *bsdus-pa de'i tshe* [3]B adds *gcan-gzan dang mi-rgod dang chu la-sogs-pas phal-cher* [4]B replaces *-pa* with *-nas* [5]B omits *yang mang* |
X: dge-slong bsdus-pa de'i tshe-na lam-du dge-slong gyag-cing chud zos-pa yang mang-ste |

156 T: rgyal-po'i 'khor-du ni 'bum-tsam-zhig-gis phyin-par gyur-ro | |
N: rgyal-po'i 'khor[1]-du ni[2] 'bum-tsam[3]-gis phyin-par 'gyuro[4] | |
[1]B *drung* [2]B omits *ni* [3]B adds *-zhig-* [4]B *gyur-to*
X: rgyal-po'i[1] pho-brang-du ni 'bum-tsam-zhig phyin-par 'gyur-ro[2] |
[1]P1,P3 *-po'i* [2]P1,P3 *gyur-to*

157 T: dge-slong lam-du chud zos-pa yang | gcan-zan sna-tshogs dang |
N: dge-slong lam-du chud zos-pa yang gcan-gzan sna-tshogs dang |[1]
[1]B omits entire line
X: dge-slong lam-du gyag-cing chud zos-pa yang gcan-gzan[1] sna-tshogs dang |
[1]P1,P3 *-zan*

158 T: myi-rgod dang | chu las-stogs-pas khyer-te chud zos-so | | dge-'dun
N: mi-rgod dang | chu la-sogs-pa phal khyer-te chud zos-so | | dge-'dun[1]
[1]B omits entire line
X: mi-rgod dang | chu la-sogs-pas phal khyer-te[1] chud zos-so | | dge-'dun
[1]P1,P3 add |

159 T: mang-po phyin-ba dang | | dge-'dun-la rgyal-pos mchod-ston gsol |
N: mang-po[1] phyin-pa dang |[2] dge-'dun-la rgyal-pos mchod-ston gsol |[2]
[1]B omits *mang-po* and adds *de-dag* [2]B omits |
X: mang-po phyin-pa-dang | rgyal-pos mchod-ston drangs |

160 T: yon-phul mchod-par byas-so | | de'i tshe dge-'dun-gyi-rnams
N: yon phul-te mchod-do | | de'i tshe[1] dge-'dun-rnams
[1]B replaces *de'i tshe* with *de-nas*
X: yon phul-te mchod-pa byas-so | de'i tshe dge-'dun-rnams

161 T: gcig-la-gcig gtam-du smras-pa | | khyed-gyi mkhan-po ga-re
N: gcig-la-gcig[1] gtam-du smras-pa | khyed[2]-kyi mkhan-po ga-re |
[1]B replaces *gcig-la-gcig* with *phan-tshun* [2]N xyl. *khyad*; B *khyod*
X: gcig-la-gcig gtam-du smras-pa | khyed-kyi mkhan-po ga-re |

162 T: slob-ma gar-song | grogs-po khrims-zla ga-re zhes-so-so-nas gtam-du
N: slob-ma gar song |[1] grogs-po khrims-zla ga-re zhes so-sor gtam-du[2]
[1]B omits | [2]B omits *-du*
X: slob-ma gar song | grogs-po khrims-zla ga-re zhes so-sor gtam-du[1]
[1]P1,P3 *-tu*

163 T: glengs-pa-las | stag dang seng-'ge dang | myi-rgod-gyis bsad-pa dang |
N: dris-pa dang |[1] stag dang | seng-ge dang[2] |[1] mi-rgod-kyis bsad-pa dang |[1]
[1]B omits | [2]B replaces *stag dang | seng-ge dang* with *gcan-gzan*
X: glengs-pa-dang | stag dang | seng-ge dang | mi-rgod-kyis[1] bsad-pa dang |
[1]P1,P3 *-gyis*

164 T: chus khyer-ba dang | nad-gyis btabs-ste shi-ba las-stsogs-pa'i gtam
N: chus khyer-ba dang |[1] nad-kyis btab-ste shi-ba la-sogs-pa'i gtam
[1]B omits |
X: chus khyer-pa dang | nad-kyis btab-nas shi-ba la-sogs-pa'i gtam

165 T: byas-[3a]-pa-nas dge-slong so-so-nas mya-ngan langs-nas | | ngud-mos 'debs
N: byas-nas[1] | dge-slong[2] so-so-nas mya-ngan langs-te |[3] ngud[4]-mo 'debs[5]
[1]B *-pas* [2]B omits *dge-slong* [3]B omits | [4]B *ngu* [5]B adds *-shing*
X: byas-nas dge-slong so-so-nas mya-ngan langs-te[1] ngud[2]-mos 'debs-te[3]
[1]P1,P3 add | [2]P1 *ngur* [3]P1,P3 add |

166 T: brang rtob-par 'gyur-ro | | de-nas de'i tshe rgyal-pos | mya-ngan
N: brang rdob[1]-par 'gyuro[2] |[3] de-nas de'i tshe[4] rgyal-pos mya-ngan
[1]B *brdungs* [2]B *gyur-to* [3]B | | [4]B omits *de'i tshe*
X: brang rdung-ngo |[1] de-nas de'i tshe rgyal-pos mya-ngan
[1]P1 | |

167 T: ma bgyid ma-ngu zhes bsgo-ba-dang | dge-'dun-rnams ma-nyan-pa-dang |
N: ma-byed-cig[1] zhes-bsgo-pa[2] |[3] dge-'dun-rnams-kyis ma-nyan-pa-dang |[3]
[1]B omits *-cig* [2]B *ches-bsgos-par* [3]B omits |
X: ma-bgyid ma-ngus[1] zhes bsgo-ba-dang| dge-'dun-rnams ma-nyan[2]-pa-dang |
[1]P1 *-ngu*; P3 *-tus* [sic!] [2] P1,P3 *mnyan*

168 T: rgyal-po yang myi-dga'-bar gyur-nas | kha phyog-ste nyal-lo | |
N: rgyal-po yang[1] mi-dga'-bar[2] gyur-nas[3] |[4] kha phyogs-te nyal-lo | |
[1]B *rgyal-po'ang* [2]B *-ste* [3]B replaces *gyur-nas* with *og-tu* [4]B omits |
X: rgyal-po yang mi-dga'-nas kha phyogs-te nyal-lo |

169 T: nyal-ba'i tshe smon-lam-du btab-pa | | da 'jig-rten-gyi dge-'dun-rnams-la ni
N: nyal-ba'i tshe smon-lam-du btab-pa[1] da 'jig-rten-gyi dge-'dun-la ni
[1]B omits *smon-lam-du btab-pa*
X: nyal-ba'i tshe smon-lam-du btab-pa | gang-zag-gi dge-'dun-la ni

170 T: skyabs kyang ma-byung-na | | dgra-bcom-ba'i zhal
N: skyabs kyang[1] ma-b[y]ung-na[2] |[3] dgra-bcom-pa'i zhal
[1]B omits *kyang* [2]B replaces *-na* with *-gi* [3]B omits |
X: skyabs-su song-nas mchod-pa byas-na | bdag-gis dgra-bcom-pa'i zhal
ma-mthong-ste | bdag-gis[1] dgra-bcom-pa-zhig-gi zhal
[1]P3 *-gos* [*sic*]

171 T: mthong-bar shog-shig ces smon-lam btab-pa-las | 'jig-rten-gyi
N: mthong-bar shog-shig ces smon-lam btab-pa-dang | 'jig-rten-gyi[1]
[1]N xyl. *gyis*
X: mthong-bar shog-shig ces smon-lam-du btab-pa-dang | 'jig-rten-gyi

172 T: lhas rmyi-lam-du bstan-pa | ri K.han-dha-ma-ha-ya-na'i ri-la |
N: lhas rmi-lam-du bstan-pa | ri[1] Gan-dha[2]-ma-ha-na'i ri-la |[3]
[1]B omits *bstan-pa | ri* [2]B *Gandha-* [3]B omits |
X: lha-zhig-gis rmi-ltas[1]-su bstan-pa | Gandha-mā-da-na[2]-ste
[1]P1,P3 *-bltas-* [2]P1 Gan-da-ma-ya [sic!]

173 T: — S.hu-dha-ra-sh.ha-na'i bu
N: — Su-rad-sha-na'i[1] bu
[1]B *Su-ratna-sha'i*
X: Spos-ngad-ldan zhes-bya-ba'i ri-la Su-dhana-pu-tra-ra-tna-sa[1]-ste[2]
[1]P1 *Su-dha-rha-sha-na;* P3 *Su-dha-na-pu-tra-ra-tna-sha*
[2]P3 *zhes-pa'ang snang ni sta* [*sic*]

174 T: — Su-rad
N: — Su-ra-da[1]
[1]B replaces *Su-ra-da* with *Des-pa*
X: Tshong-dpon nor-bzang-gi[1] bu zhes-bya-ba rab-tu byung-ba Su-ra-ta[2]-ste
[1]P1 *bzangs-gyi* [2]P1 *Su-dha-dha;* P3 *Surat* [*sic*]

175 T: ces-bya-ba dgra-bcom-ba-zhig bzhug-ste | |
N: ces[1]-bya-ba dgra-bcom-pa-zhig gzhugs[2]-te|[3]
[1]B *zhes* [2]B *bzhugs* [3]B omits |
X: Des-pa zhes-bya-bar ming btags[1]-pa dgra-bcom-pa'i 'bras-bu thob-pa-zhig bzhugs-te |
[1]P1,P3 *gdags*

176 T: de spyan-drangs-na | sdig kyang 'byang |
N: de spyan-drangs-na sdig[1] kyang[2] 'byang[3] |[4]
[1]B adds *-pa* [2]B omits *kyang* [3]B adds *-zhing* [4]B omits |
X: de spyan-drangs-nas bsnyen-bkur byas-te | de-la[1] sdig bshags[2]-na sdig[3] kyang[4] 'byang |[5]
[1]P1 *de-las*; P3 *ngo-las* [*sic*] [2]P3 *gshegs* [3]P1,P3 *sdig-pa* [4]P1,P3 *yang*
[5]P1,P3 omit |

177 T: the-tsom yang khrel-to zhes bstan-pa rmyis-pa-dang | |
N: the-tshom yang srel[1]-bar 'gyuro[2] zhes[3] dang |
[1]B *sel-* [2]B *'gyur-ro* [3]B adds *lung-bstan-pa*
X: the-tshom[1] yang bral-bar 'gyur-ro[2] zhes lhas bstan-pa rmis-pa-dang |
[1]P1,P3 *tsom* [2]P1,P3 add | |

178 T: rgyal-po sad-nas 'phral-du pho-nya bskye-ste —
N: rgyal-po[1] sad-de[2] 'phral-du[3] pho-nya bkye-ste |[4] —
[1]B *-po'i* and adds *rmi-lam bzhin-du* [2]B *sad-ma-thag* [3]B omits *'phral-du*
[4]B omits | and adds *'phags-pa*
X: rgyal-po sar-pa[1]-dang 'phral-du pho-nya bkye[2]-ste | Spos-ngad-ldang-ga[3]
[1]P1,P3 *sang-ba* [2]P1,P3 *bskye* [3]P1 *-gi*; P3 *-ge*

179 T: — spyan-drangs-nas phyin-pa-dang | |
N: — spyan-drangs-nas[1] | phyin-pa-dang |[2]
[1]B *-te* [2]B omits | *phyin-pa-dang* |
X: ri-las dgra-bcom-pa Su-ra-ta[1] spyan-drangs-te | rgyal-po'i pho-brang-du
[1]P1 *Su-dha-dha;* P3 *Su-rat*

180 T: dgra-bcom-ba-la rgyal-pos mchod-cing phyag-byas-so | |
N: dgra-bcom-pa-la rgyal-pos[1] mchod-cing phyag byaso[2] | |
[1]B omits *dgra-bcom-pa-la rgyal-pos* [2]B *byas-so*
X: byon-pa-dang | rgyal-pos kyang tshul-bzhin-du phyag-byas-shing

181 T: — de'i dus-na tshes bcu-bzhi'i nub-mo

N: — de'i dus-na[1] tshes bcu-bzhi'i nub-mo

[1]B replaces *de'i dus-na* with *de-nas*

X: mchod-de bsnyen-bkur byas-so | | de'i dus-na tshes bcu-bzhi'i nub-mo

182 T: dge-'dun ril-gyis 'dus-pa'i nang-nas | | dge-slong gsar zhugs-rnams-gyis | |

N: dge-'dun 'dus-pa'i nang-nas |[1] dge-slong gsar zhugs-rnams-kyis[2]

[1]B omits | [2]B *-kyi*

X: dge-'dun ril-gyis 'dus-pa'i nang-nas | dge-slong gsar zhugs-rnams-kyis

183 T: sde-snod[1] gsum 'tshal-pa Shir-sha-ka-la 'dul bshad-par gsol-ba-las |

[1]ms. *-snon*

N: sde-snod gsum shes-pa'i[1] mkhan-po Shir-sha-ka[2]-la 'dul-ba bshad-par gsol-pa-las[3] |

[1]B omits *sde-snod gsum shes-pa'i* [2]B replaces *Shir-sha-ka* with *Slob-ma-can*

[3]B *-pa-dang* |

X: sde-snod gsum shes-pa'i mkhan-po Shi-sya-ka[1]-la Prā-ti-mo-kṣa[2] gden[3]-par gsol-pa-las |

[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*; P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka* [2]P1 replaces *Prā-ti-mo-kṣa* with *mo-kṣa*, P2 with *mo-kā* [*sic*] [3]P1,P3 *gdon*

184 T: Sher-she-ka na-re | myi-la myig zhar[1] sna dang | | rna-ba myed-na

[1] an unidentifiable letter (or portion of a letter) precedes the word *zhar* in the ms.

N: Shir-sha-ka[1] na-re mi-la mig zhar |[2] sna dang rna-ba med-na |[2]

[1]B replaces *Shir-sha-ka* with *Slob-ma-can* [2]B omits |

X: Shi-sya-ka[1] na-re |[2] mi-la mig zhar | snga dang |[3] rna-ba med-na

[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*; P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka* [2]D omits | [3]P1,P3,D omit |

185 T: mye-long ci dgos | bltar ci yod | 'dul-ba bshad kyang khyod 'dul-ba ltar

N: me-long[1] ci dgos | bltar[2] ci[3] yod | 'dul-ba bshad kyang khyed 'dul-ba-ltar[4]

[1]B adds *-gis* [2]B omits *ci dgos | bltar* [3]B adds *byar* [4] B replaces *-ltar* with *-bzhin*

X: me-long ci dgos | bltar ci yod | 'dul-ba bshad kyang khyed 'dul-ba-ltar[1]

[1]P1 *bltar*

186 T: myi spyod | | chos-khrims myi srung-ba'[1]-la 'dul-ba bshad kyang

[1]ms. inserts |

N: mi-spyod |[1] chos-khrims mi-srung-ba-la 'dul-ba bshad-na[2]

[1]B omits | [2]B *-pas*

X: mi-spyod | tshul-khrims mi-bsrungs-ba-la 'dul-ba bshad kyang

187 T: ji'i phan zhes smras-pa-dang | de'i tshe So-rad ces-bya-ba dgra-bcom-bas |
N: ci phan zhes[1] smras-pa[2]-dang | de'i tshe Su[3]-rad ces-bya-ba[4] dgra-bcom-pas[5]
[1]B omits *zhes* [2]B *zer-ba-* [3]N xyl. *Su-su-* [4]B omits *de'i tshe Su-rad ces-bya-ba*
[5]B *-pa* and adds *Des-pas*
X: ci phan zhes smras-pa-dang | de'i tshe Su-ra-ta[1] zhes-bya-ba dgra-bcom-pas
[1]P1 *Su-rad*; P3 *Surat* [sic]

188 T: seng-ge'i sgra bzhin-du smras-pa' | sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das-gyi
N: seng-ge'i sgra bzhin-du smras-pa |[1] sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das-kyi
[1]B omits *smras-pa* | and adds *ngas*
X: seng-ge'i sgra byung[1]-nas smras-pa | sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das-kyi
[1]P1,P3,D *phyung*

189 T: chos-khrims ngas mnos-nas | da-tsam-gyi bar-du rtsva-mchog-tsam yang
N: chos-khrims ngas[1] mnos-nas |[2] da-tsam-gyi bar-du rtsva-mchog-tsam yang
[1]B omits *ngas* [2]B omits | [3]B
X: tshul-khrims ngas[1] mnos-nas da[2]-tsam-gyis[3] bar-du rtsva[4]-mchog-tsam yang
[1]P1 *des* [2]P3 *nga* [3]P1,P3,D *-gyi* [4]P1,P3 *rtsa*

190 T: ma-nyams-na | | de-skad ma-zer-bar 'dul-ba shod-cig ces ⌊smras⌋-pa-dang |
N: mya-nyams-na |[1] de-skad ma-zer-bar 'dul-ba shod ces smras-pa-dang |
[1]B omits |
X: ma-nyams-na | 'di-skad ma-zer-bar Prā-ti-mo-kṣa[1] thon-cig-par smras-pa-dang |
[1]P1,P3 *bra-sti-mo-kṣa*

191 T: mkhan-po Shir-she-kya yang dgra-bcom-ba ngo-shes-nas |
N: mkhan-po Shir-sha-ka[1] yang[2] dgra-bcom-pa yin-par shes-nas |[3]
[1]B *Slob-ma-can-gyis* [2]B omits *yang* [3]B omits |
X: mkhan-po Shi-sya-ka'ang[1] dgra-bcom-par ngo-shes-te
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka yang*; P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka yang*

192 T: rab-du gnong-ste | myi-smra-'o | | Shir-she-ka'i slob-ma dge-slong
N: rab-tu gnong-ste[1] mi-smra'o[2] | |[3] Shir-sha-ka'i[4] slob-ma dge-slong
[1]B adds *cang* [2]B *mi-smra-bar 'dug-go* [3]B adds *de-nas* [4]B *Slob-ma-can-gyi*
X: rab-tu skyengs-nas cang mi-zer-ba-dang | Shi-sya-ka'i[1] slob-ma dge-slong
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka'i*; P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka'i*

193 T: A-gan-dhe'i zhes-bya-ba de'i
N: A-ka-de[1] zhes-bya-ba de[2]
[1]B *Dpung-rgyan* [2]B omits *de*
X: Am-ga-da[1]-ste Dpung-gi tshogs 'jigs-su-rung[2] zhes-bya-ba de
[1]P1 *A-gan-ti*; P3 *Am-ga-ta* (abbrev. *A°-ga-ta*) [2] P1,P3 add *-ba*

194 T: 'khor-du 'dus-pa'i nang-nas langste | Su-rad ces-bya-ba
N: 'khor 'dus-pa'i nang-nas langs-te Su-rad ces-bya-ba[2]
[1]B replaces *'khor 'dus-pa'i nang-nas* with *stan-las* [2]B omits *Su-rad ces-bya-ba*
X: 'khor 'dug[1]-pa'i nang-nas langs-te Su-ra-ta[2] zhes-bya-ba
[1]P1,P3,D *'dus* [2]P1 *Su-rad*; P3 *Su-rat*

195 T: dgra-bcom-ba de-la | khyod ci-ste nga'i mkhan-po-la 'di-skad ces smra |
N: dgra-bcom-pa de[1]-la khyod ci-ste nga'i mkhan-po-la de-skad smra |
[1]B omits *de* [2]B omits *khyod ci-ste nga'i mkhan-po-la de-skad smra* |
X: dgra-bcom-pa de-la khyed ci-ste nga'i mkhan-po-la de-skad smra |

196 T: khyod khrims-zla yang myed 'dul-ba yang myi-shes | | nga'i mkhan-po
N: khyod khrims kyang med |[1] 'dul-ba'ang mi-shes-na[2] |[1] nga'i mkhan-po
[1]B omits | [2]B *-par*
X: khyod khrims kyang med | 'dul-ba'ang[1] mi-shes-na[2] | nga'i mkhan-po
[1]P1,P3,D *-yang* [2]P1,P3 omit *na*

197 T: sde-ba snod[1] gsum dang[2] ldan-ba-la | ci'i phyir brnyas-te khros-nas |
[1]ms. *snon* [2]ms. adds |
N: sde-snod gsum-la mkhas-pa de[1]-la |[2] ci'i phyir brnyas[3] shes khros-nas |[2]
[1]B omits *de* [2]B omits | [3]N xyl. *brnyus*
X: sde-snod gsum-la mkhas-pa de-la ci'i phyir kha-zlogs[1] zhes khros-nas
[1]P1,P3 add |

198 T: sgo-gtan blangste | dgra-bcom-ba-la brdegs-nas bsad-do | | de'i tshe
N: — dgra-bcom-pa brdegs-te gsad[1]-do | |[2]
[1]B *bsad*
X: sgo-gtan blangs-te | dgra-bcom-pa brdegs[1]-nas bsad-do | | de'i tshe
[1]P1,P3 *gdegs* [2]B adds *de-nas dam-pa'i*

199 T: chos-la dga'-ba'i̱ gnod-sbyi̱n 'Dhi̱d-dha-mu-kha
N: chos-la dga'-ba'i gnod-sbyin Di-ta-mu-kha[1]
[1]B replaces *Di-ta-mu-kha* with *Zho-gdong*
X: chos-la dga'-ba'i gnod-sbyin Da-dhi-mu-kha Zho-gdong[1] Dir-rga-mu-kha[2]
[1]P1 omits *Da-dhi-mu-kha Zho-gdong* [2]P3 *Dir-nam-kha'* [*sic*]

200 T: zhes-bya-ba lag-par rdo-rje thog-ste | mngon-du byung-nas | |
N: zhes-bya-bas | lag-par[1] rdo-rje thogs-te mngon-du byung-nas |[2]
[1]B omits | *lag-par* [2]B omits |
X: zhes-bya-bas lag-par rdo-rje thogs-nas mngon-du byung-ste |

201 T: dge-slong A-gan-la-la [*sic*] ci̱-ste-ba dgra-bcom-ba bsad ces-smras-nas |
N: dge-slong A-ga-di[1]-la ci-ste[2] dgra-bcom-pa bsad[3] ces smras[4]-nas |[5]
[1]B *Dpung-rgyan-can* [2]B *ci'i phyir* [3]B *gsod* [4]B *zer* [5]B omits |
X: dge-slong Aṃ-ga-da[1]-la | ci-ste dgra-bcom-pa bsad ces zer-te
[1]P1 *A-gan-ti* , P3 *A-gad*

202 T: rdo-rje phyungs-ste bsad-do | | de'i̱ dus-na dge-slong Ge-rad ces bya-bas |
N: rdo-rje byung-ste[1] bsad-do | | de'i dus-na[2] dge-slong Ge-rad ces-bya-bas |[3]
[1]B *brdegs-te* [2]B omits *de'i dus-na* [3]B omits |
X: rdo-rje phyung-nas bsad-do | | de'i dus-na dge-slong Ge-rad[1] ces-bya-bas
[1]P1 *Gi-rang*, P3 *Ge-rang*, L *Gi-rad*

203 T: mkhan-po Shi̱r-she-ka-la brdegs-ste | bsad-do | | de-nas rdo-rje'i̱ rjes-la
N: dge-slong[1] Shir-sha-ka[2] brdegs-te[3] bsad[4]-do[5] | | de-nas de'i rjes-la[6]
[1]B omits *dge-slong* [2]B *Slob-ma-can* [3]B omits *brdegs-te* [4]B xyl. *psad*
[5]B adds *zhes 'byung-ngo* [*sic*] [6]B omits *de'i rjes-la*
X: mkhan-po Shi-sya-ka[1] brdegs-te bsad-do | | de-nas de'i rjes-la
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-shuka* [*sic*]

204 T: dge-'dun ri̱l-gi̱s-| gci̱g-gi̱s-gcig bsad-de | | gci̱g kyang ma-lus-so | |
N: dge-slong ril-gyis[1] gcig-gis-gcig[2] bsad-do[3] | |[4] gcig kyang ma-lus-so | |
[1]B replaces *ril-gyis* with *thams-cad* and adds *phan-tshun* [3]B *-de* [4] B omits | |
X: dge-'dun ril-gyis 'khrugs-nas gcig-gis-gcig bsad-de[1] gcig[2] kyang ma-lus-so | |
[1]P3 *-da* [2]P1 *cig*, P3 *c*[*i*]*g*

205 T: de'i dus-na nam-ka ⌊lha klu⌋ las-stsogs-pa chos-gyi srungs-ma
N: de'i dus-na[1] nam-mkha'-las[2] lha klu la-sogs-pa |[3] chos-kyi srung-ma
[1]B replaces *dus-na* with *tshe* [2]B *-la* [3]B omits |
X: de'i dus-na nam-mkha'-la lha klu la-sogs-pa chos-kyi srung[1]-ma
[1]P1,P3 *bsrungs*

206 T: phal-mo-che myi-dga'-nas | ngus-pa'i mchi-ma ni khrag dang
N: phal-po[1]-che mi-dga'-nas ngus-pa'i mchi-ma ni khrag dang |[2]
[1]B *-mo-* [2]B omits |
X: phal-po-che ma-dga'-nas[1] ngus-pa'i mchi-ma ni khrag dang[2]
[1]P1,P3 insert | [2]L inserts |

207 T: mye'i char-pas gzhi der bab-bo | | nam-ka yang ser-po nag-po-dag-du
N: me'i char[1] sa-gzhi der bab-bo | | namkha' yang[2] ser-po nag-po | |[3]
[1]B adds *-du* [2]B *nam-mkha'ang* [3]B omits | | and adds *dang dmar-por*
X: me'i char bab-bo | | nam-mkha'-dag ni ser[1] dang | nag-por
[1]P1 *ser-po*

208 T: gyur[1]-zhing ldog-sgra chen-po 'byung | | skar-ma 'Du-mu-ge-tu[2]
— [1]hand-corrected from *gyud* [2]ms. *-ta*
N: gyur-cing |[1] glog[2] sgra chen-po[3] byung[4] | skar-ma Du-ma-ke-du[5]
[1]B omits *-cing* | [2]B adds *dang* [3]B adds *yang* [4]B *'byung* [5]B *Dhu-ma-ke-tu*
X: gyur | glog[1] dang | sgra chen-po byung | skar-ma Dhū-ma-ke-tu[2]
[1]P1,D *glog-po* [2]P1 *Du-ma-ke-du*, P3 *Du-me-ke-du*

209 T: zhes-bya-ba lus-las du-ba nag-po mthong-ba-zhig byung-ste |
N: zhes-bya-ba'i lus-las du-ba nag-po-zhig byung-ste | [1]
[1]B omits |
X: zhes-bya-ba lus-las du-ba nag-po gtong-ba-zhig byung-nas |

210 T: de-nas zla-ba dang skar-ma las-stsogs-pa 'od kyang *myed*
N: des zla-ba dang nyi-ma[1] la-sogs-pa'i 'od kyang med[2] |[3]
[1]B replaces *des zla-ba dang nyi-ma* with *nyi-zla* [2]B *mi-snang-ngo* [3]B | |
X: des skar-ma dang |[1] zla-ba la-sogs-pa 'od kyang med |
[1]P1,P3,D omit |

211 T: gcig *kyang bltar mi . . . . de'i dus-na sum-cu-rtsa-gsum*

N: gcig kyang bltar mi-snang-bar 'ong-ngo | |[1] de'i dus-na[2] sum-cu-rtsa-gsum[3]

[1]B omits *gcig kyang bltar mi-snang-bar 'ong-ngo | |* [2]B replaces *dus-na* with *tshe* [4]B adds *-gyi*

X: gcig kyang bltar mi-snang-bar 'ong-ngo[1] | | de'i dus-na sum-cu[2]-rtsa-gsum

[1]P1 *'od-do* [2]P1,P3 *-bcu-*

212 T: *gnam-gyi lha . . . . phal-mo-che dang*

N: gnam-gyi[1] lha dang |[2] yum Mā-hā-ma-ya[3] la-sogs-pa | 'khor phal-po-che[4]

[1]B omits *gnam-gyi* [2]B omits | [3]B *Sgyu-'phrul chen-mo* [4]B omits | *'khor phal-po-che*

X: gnam-gyi lha dang | yum Mā-yā-de-bi[1] la-sogs-pa 'khor phal-mo-che dang

[1]P1 *Ma-ya-dem-bi*, P3 *Ma-ya-de-ba'i*

213 T: der 'ongs-nas | | dge-'dun-gyi gos mtshon-can ril-gyi [*sic*] bsdus-te

N: der[1] 'ongs-nas |[2] dge-'dun-gyi gos tshon-can ril[3] bsdus-te[4]

[1]B omits *der* [2]B omits | and adds *mya-ngan byed-cing* [3]B *thams-cad* [4]B adds *sum-cu-rtsa-gsum-du*

X: der 'ongs-nas dge-'dun-gyi[1] gos tshon-can ril-gyis bsdus-nas

[1]D *-kyi*

214 T: khye . . . . de'i dus-na rgyal-pos 'di-lta-bu'i ku-cho

N: khyer-bar[1] 'ongo[2] | | de'i dus-na[3] rgyal-pos 'di-lta-bu'i ku-cho[4]

[1]B *-ro* [2]B omits *'ongo* [3]B replaces *de'i dus-na* with *de-nas* [4]B *ca-co* [sic]

X: khyer-bar 'ong-ngo | | de'i dus-na rgyal-po 'di-lta-bu'i ku-co

215 T: sgra chen-po byung-ba ci-las gyur ces smras-pa dang | d*ge*-'dun

N: sgra[1] chen-po byung-ba ci-las gyur[2] ces[3] smras-pa-dang[4] |[5] dge-'dun

[1]B omits *sgra* [2]B replaces *byung-ba ci-las gyur* with *ci-las byung* [3]B *zhes* [4]B *dris-pas* [5]B omits |

X: sgra chen-po byung-ba ci-las gyur ces smras-pa-dang | dge-'dun

216 T: 'khrugs-nas | gcig-gis-gcig bsad-par gyur-to zhes gsol-pa-dang |

N: 'khrugs-nas gcig-gis-gcig bsad-par gyur-to zhes gsol-ba-dang |[1]

[1]B omits |

X: 'khrugs-nas gcig-gis-gcig bsad-par gyur-to zhes gsol-ba-dang |

217 T: rgyal-po myi-dga'-ste langs-nas tho-ras . . *mkhar dgy* . . phyi . *r* .. *gyi*

N: rgyal-po mi[1]-dga'-nas langs-te tho-rangs[2] mkhar-gyi[3] phyi-rol-gyi

[1]B *ma* [2]N xyl. *-ras* [sic] [3]B omits *mkhar-gyi*

X: rgyal-po mi-dga'-ste | langs-nas tho-rangs mkhar-gyi phyi-rol-gyi

218 T: *lha-gang-du* phyin-ba dang | dge-'dun la-la-ni . . . . . . kha-cig ni[1]
1ms. *ng.ni [sic]*
N: lha-khang[1]-du[2] phyin-pa-dang |[3] dge-'dun la-la ni mgo bcad | la-la ni
[1]N xyl. *-gang-* [sic] [2]B adds *bltar* [3]B omits |
X: lha-khang-du phyin-pa-dang | dge-'dun la-la ni mgo bcad | la-la ni

219 T: rkang-pa bcag | | kha-cig ni dmyig phyungs-ste | | de-ltar sna-tshogs-su
N: rkang[1] lag bcad | kha-cig ni mig phyung[2] 'di-ltar[3] sna-tshogsu[4]
[1]N xyl. *rka* [2]B adds *-ste* [3]B omits *'di-ltar* [4]B *sna-tshogs-su*
X: mig phyung | la-la ni[1] rkang lag bcad-de | de-ltar sna-tshogs-su
[1]P1 omits *ni*

220 T: shi-ba mthong-nas | dgra-bcom-ba dang Sher-she-ka sde-snod gsum
N: shi-ba mthong-nas |[1] dgra-bcom-pa dang |[2] Shir-sha-ka[3] sde-snod gsum[4]
[1]B omits | and adds *mya-ngan langs-te* [2]B omits | [3]B omits *Shir-sha-ka* [4]B adds *-pa*
X: shi-ba mthong-nas | dgra-bcom-pa dang | Shi-sya-ka[1] sde-snod gsum
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-shu-ka*

221 T: shes-pa'i mkhan-po'i ro myed-nas | |

N: shes-pa'i[1] mkhan-po'i[2] ro[3] btsal-nas[4] gnyi-ga'i ro snyed-de |[5]
[1]B omits *shes-pa'i* and adds *Slob-ma-can-gyi* [2]B omits *mkhan-po'i* [3]B *pur*
[4]B *-te* [4]B omits *gnyi-ga'i ro snyed-de* |
X: shes-pa'i mkhan-po'i ro btsal[1]-nas gnyis-ka'i ro snyed-pa-dang |
[1]P1,P3 *brtsal*

222 T: mtshan[1]-khung g.yas-g.yos-su bcug-nas | | dgra-bcom-ba ni
[1] ms. *mchan*
N: mtshan-khung g.yas-g.yon-su[1] bcug-nas |[2] dgra-bcom-pa ni
[1]B *-du* [2]B omits |
X: mtshan-khung g.yas-g.yon-du bzhag[1]-nas dgra-bcom-pa ni
[1]P1,P3 *gzhag*

223 T: nga'i ma yin | Shir-she-kha ni chos-gyi mdzod yin-te |
N: nga'i ma yin | Shir-shāka[1] ni chos-kyi mdzod yin-te |[2]
[1]B replaces *Shir-shāka* with *sde-snod gsum-pa* [2]B omits |
X: nga'i pha yin | Shi-sya-ka[1] ni chos-kyi mdzod yin |
[1]P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-shu-ka*

224 T: 'di gnyis 'das-par gyur-pa ni | da phyin-cad nga'i lus dang srog-la
N: 'di gnyis 'das-par[1] gyur-pa ni[2] da-phyin-chad nga'i srog
[1]B *-pas* [2]B omits *gyur-pa ni*
X: 'di gnyis 'das-par gyur-pa ni da-phyin-cad nga'i lus dang |[1] srog
[1]P1,P3,D omit |

225 T: yang gces-pa myed | | rgyal-srid kyang su 'dod[1]-pa sbyin-no
[1]ms. *'edod* [sic]
N: kyang gces-pa med[1] |[2] rgyal-srid kyang su 'dod-pa-la sbyin-no
[1]B adds *-do* [2]B | |
X: kyang gces-pa med | rgyal-srid kyang su 'dod-pa-la sbyin-no

226 T: zhes smras-nas | | dmyig kyang btsums-ste | | myi-mthong-bar 'gyur-ro | |
N: zhes smras-nas |[1] mig kyang btsums-te mi-lta[2]-bar 'gyuro[3] | |
[1]B omits | [2]B *-blta-* [3]B *gyur-to*
X: zhes smras-pa-dang | mig kyang ldongs-te mi-snang-bar gyur-te[1] |
[1]P1,P3,D *-to*

227 T: de'i dus-na blon-po-rnams-gyis | rgyal-po-la snying-brtse-ste |
N: de'i dus-na[1] blon-po-rnams[2] rgyal-po-la[3] snying-brtse-ste |[4]
[1]B replaces *de'i dus-na* with *de'i tshe* [2]B adds *-kyis* [4]B *rgyal-po'i*
[5]B omits *snying-brtse-ste* |
X: de'i dus-na blon-po-rnams-kyis rgyal-po-la snying-brtse[1]-ste |
[1] P1,P3 *-rtse-*

228 T: mya-ngan bsang-ba'i phyir | myi lnga-brgya ban-de de-ltar bcos-ste |
N: mya-ngan bsang-ba'i[1] phyir |[2] mi lnga-brgya[3] ban-de ltar[4] bcos-te |
[1]B *sangs-pa'i* [2]B omits | [3]B *-brgyar* [4]B replaces *ban-de ltar* with *rab-tu byung-bar*
X: mya-ngan bsang-ba'i[1] phyir mi lnga-brgya[2] ban-de[3] ltar bcos-te |
[1] P1 *bsad-pa'i* [2] P1,P3 *-brgyar* [3] L *bande*

229 T: mgo dang kha-spu breg-du spu-gris ma-chod[1]-nas | | kha-spu dang skra yang
[1]ms. *mchod-*
N: mgo[1] dang kha-spu breg-tu spu-gris ma-chod-nas |[2]
[1]B *skra* [2]B omits |
X: skra dang[1] kha-spu breg-tu spu-gris ma-chod[2]-nas | skra dang[3] kha-spu
[1] D, L insert | [2] P3 *mchod-* [3] L inserts |

230 T: myes bsregs | mtshon sna brgya-rtsa-bcu yang de'i tshe nub-pas | |
N: —[1]
[1]B *mes bsregs-te*
X: mes bsregs | tshon sna brgya yang de'i tshe nub-pas

231 T: ban-de lnga-brgya' yang chos-gos myi-bdog-nas | phyugs nag-po dang
N: — phyugs nag[1]-po dang |
[1]B *ser*
X: ban-de[1] lnga-brgya yang chos-gos mi-bdog-nas phyugs nag-po dang |
[1]P1,P3 *ban-dhe* (*h* added by hand in P1), L *bande*

232 T: dmar-po'i ko-ba gyon-te ban-de ltar bcos-nas | | rgyal-po'i drung-du
N: dmar-po'i ko-ba gyon[1]-te ban-de ltar bcos-nas[2] rgyal-po'i drung-du
[1]B *bskon* [2]B omits *ban-de ltar bcos-nas*
X: dmar-po'i ko-ba gyon-te | ban-de[1] ltar bcos-nas rgyal-po'i drung-du
[1]P1,P3 *ban-dhe*, L *bande*

233 T: 'ongs-so | | blon-pos rgyal-po-la ban-de lnga-brgya 'ongs-so zhes
N: 'ongs-so[1] | |[2] blon-pos rgyal-po-la[3] ban-de[4] lnga-brgya 'ongso[5] zhes
[1]B *'ong-nas* [2]B omits | | [3]B omits *blon-pos rgyal-po-la* [4]B *rab-tu byung-ba*
[5]B *'ongs-so*
X: 'ongs-so | | blon-pos rgyal-po-la ban-de[1] lnga-brgya 'ongs-so zhes
[1]P1,P3 *ban-dhe*, L *bande*

234 T: gsol-pa-dang | rgyal-po dga'-nas dmyig phye-ste ban-de-la
N: smras-pha[1]-dang |[2] rgyal-po dga'-nas mig phye-ste : ban-de-la[3]
[1]B *gsol-ba-* [2]B omits | [3]B omits *: ban-de-la*
X: gsol-pa-dang | rgyal-po dga'-nas mig phye-ste[1] bande[2]-dag-la |[3]
[1]P1,P3 *phyed-de* [2] P1,D *ban-de*, P3 *ban-dhe* [3] P1,P3 omit |

235 T: bltas-na | *'dir* yang ril-gyis phyugs-gyi phags-pas gos-su gyon-la | |
N: bltas-pa-dang[1] | ban-de yang[2] ril[3]-gyis[4] phyugs-kyi ko-ba gosu gyon-la[5] |[2]
[1]B *bltas-pas* [2]B omits | *ban-de yang* [3]N xyl. *ris* [4]B replaces *ril-gyis* with *thams-cad* [5]B replaces *gosu gyon-la* with *gon-zhing*
X: brtags-na | ban-de[1] yang ril-gyis phyugs-kyi pags-pa gos-su gyon-la |
[1]P1,P3 *ban-dhe*, L *bande*

236 T: skra dang skha-spu las-stsogs-pa ma-bregs-par myes ma-b*ta*b-bar mthong-nas |

N: skra dang |[1] kha-spu mes bsregs-par[2] mthong-nas |

[1]B omits | [2]B *-pa*

X: skra dang |[1] kha-spu ma-bregs-par mes bsregs-pa ni ma-mthong-nas

[1]D omits |

237 T: rgyal-po dga'-nas | dkon-mchog gsum[1]-la mchod-pa'i

[1] ms. abbrev. *gsu°*

N: rgyal-po dga'-ste |[1] dkon-mchog gsum-la mchod-pa'i

[1]B omits *rgyal-po dga'-ste* |

X: rgyal-po yang dga'-ste | dkon-mchog-gsum-la mchod-pa'i

238 T: yo-byad 'on-cig ces-bsgo-nas | |

N: yo-byad 'on-cig-par[1] bsgo[2]-nas | | ban-de[3] de-rnams-la mchod-do | |[4]

[1]B replaces *'on-cig-par* with *khyer-la shog* and adds *ces* [2]B *bsgos*

[3]B omits | | *ban-de* [4]B adds *de-nas*

X: yo-byad 'on-cig ces bsgo-nas ban-de[1] de-rnams-la mchod-de |

[1] P1,P3 *ban-dhe* , L *bande*

239 T: ban-de-rnams-la —

N: —

X: ban-de[1]-rnams-la rgyal-pos zhib-tu[2] brtags-na | phyugs-kyi pags-pa

[1] P1,P3 *ban-dhe*, L *bande* [2] P1,P3 *-du*

240 T: —

N: —

X: chos-gos-su gyon[1]-la | skra dang[2] kha[3]-spu ma-bregs-par mes bsregs-pa

[1] P3 *gon-* , P1 *gyon* (y added by hand) [2] L inserts | [3] P3 *la-*, P1 hand-corrected (from *la*?) to read *kha-*

241 T: —

N: —

X: gsal-bar mthong-nas rgyal-po-nyid som-nyi-ru gyur-te | 'di-dag

242 T: —

N: —

X: dge-slong ni ma-yin mod-kyi | bdag-gis cung-zad-cig dri'o[1] snyam-nas |

[1]P1,P3 *'dra'o*

243 T: ⌊rgyal-po⌋ the-tsom dris-pa-dang I I
N: rgyal-pos[1] chos dris-pa-dang I[2]
[1]B adds *de-dag-la* [2]B replaces *dris-pa-dang* I with *dris-pas*
X: dge-slong-gi lta-ba dang I tshul-khrims gang yin zhes dris-na I

244 T: chos ci gcig kyang myi-shes-nas I
N: chos tshig[1]-gcig kyang mi-shes-nas I[2]
[1]N xyl. *chig* [2]B omits I
X: de-rnams gang-gis kyang dge-slong-gi lta-ba dang I tshul-khrims dang I

245 T: —
N: —
X: brtul-zhugs cung-zad kyang mi-shes-pas rgyal-po de-la

246 T: —
N: —
X: lan ma-btab-par cang mi-smra-bar 'khod-pa-dang I rgyal-pos bsams-pa I

247 T: —
N: —
X: da ni sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa nub-ste[1] I dkon-mchog gsum-gyi
[1] P1,P3 *-te*

248 T: —
N: —
X: tshul yang-dag-par rgyun-chad-pa lta-zhig snyam-nas

249 T: rgyal-po yang mya-ngan langs-ste I ngu'o I I
N: rgyal-po yang[1] mya-ngan langs-ste I[2] ngu'o I I[3]
[1]B *rgyal-po'ang* [2]B omits I [3]B adds *de-nas*
X: rgyal-po yang mya-ngan chen-po langs-te ngu-bar 'gyur-ro I I

250 T: ban-de phal-mo-che shi-ba'i ro phal-mo-che ril-gyis
N: ban-de[1] shi-ba'i[2] ro ril-gyis[3] bsdus-nas[4]
[1]B *dge-slong-rnams* [2]B omits *shi-ba'i* [3]B *thams-cad* [4]B *-te*
X: de-nas rgyal-po des ban-de[1] phal-po-che btungs-te shi-ba'i ro-rnams blangs-te
[1] P1 *ban-dhe* (*h* added by hand); L *bande*

251 T: bsregs-ste mchod-pa byed-do | |
N: bsregs-te[1] mchod-pha[2] byed-do | |
[1]B *-nas* [2]B *-pa*
X: bsregs-nas mchod-pa byas-te | de'i 'og-tu rgyal-po-nyid kyang bstan-pa

252 T: —
N: —
X: nub-pa'i thugs ngan-gyis zhal 'tshos[1]-te 'das-so[2] | |
[1] P1,P3 *mchos-* [2] P1,P3 *'ongs-so*

253 T: de'i tshe de'i dus-na | 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi chos ril-gyis der nub-bo | |
N: de'i tshe de'i dus-na |[1] 'Dzam-bu-gling-gi lha[2]-chos ril nub-bo | |[3]
[1]B omits *de'i dus-na* | [2]B *dam* [3]B adds *de-nas*
X: de'i tshe de'i dus-na 'Dzam-bu'i gling-gi dam-pa'i chos ril-gyis nub-ste[1] |
[1] P1,P3 *-te*

254 T: —
N: —
X: gsung-rab[1]-kyi yi-ge-rnams kyang dung[2] byi[3]-pa bzhin-du bltar
[1] P1,P3 *-rabs-* [2] P1 hand-corrected to read *rung* [3] P1,P3,D *phyis*

255 T: — gser ni dngul ngan-pa dang rdor gyur | | dngul ni
N: — gser ni dngul ngan-pa dang rdor 'gyur | dngul ni
X: mi-mngon-par gyur-to |[1] gser ni dngul-du 'gyur-ro | | dngul ni
[1] P1 | |

256 T: ra-gan-du gyur | ra-gan ni zangs-su gyur |
N: ra-gan ngan-pa dang rdor 'gyur[1] | ra-gan ni zangsu[2] 'gyur |
[1]B adds *-ro* [2]B *zangs-su*
X: zangs dang |[1] lcags-su 'gyur-ro | | zangs dang[2] lcags ni rdor 'gyur-ro | |
[1] P1,P3 omit | [2] L inserts |

257 T: rin-po-che dang mu-tig ni rbar gyur-| kha-zas-gyi ro drug yod-pa-las |
N: rin-po-che dang[1] mu-tig ni ryar[2] 'gyur | zas-la[3] ro drug yod-pa[4]-las
[1]B omits *rin-po-che dang* [2]B *rya-ru* [3]B omits *zas-la* [4]B omits *yod-pa-*
X: rin-po-che dang[1] mu-tig ni ryar 'gyur-ro | | kha-zas ni ro drug yod-pa-la[2]
[1] L inserts | [2] P1,P3 *-las*

258 T: dngar-zhing zhim-ba las-stsogs-pi [sic] ⌊bzhi⌋ ni nub |
N: mngar-zhing zhim-pa la-sogs-pha bzhi ni nub | [1]
[1]B omits entire line
X: mngar-ba dang | skyur-ba dang | lan-tshya'i[1] ro la-sogs-pa ni nub-bo[2] | |
[1] P1,P3 *-tsha'i* [2] P1 *-pa*

259 T: kha-ban dang cub-pan gnyis ni lus-so | | | |
N: kha-ba dang rtsub-pa[1] gnyis luso[2] | |
[1]B *skyur-ba* [2]B *lus-so* and adds *zhes-'byung-ngo*
X: kha-ba dang |[1] bska[2]-ba gnyis ni[3] lus-so | |
[1] P1,P3 omit | [2] P1 *ska*, P3 *bka'* [3] P1,P3 omit *ni*

260 T: sangs-rgyas Shag-kya-thub-pa' |
N: [1]sangs-rgyas Shākya-thub-pa-la
[1]entire title omitted in B
X: sangs-rgyas bcom-ldan-'das Shākya-thub-pa-la

261 T: byang-cub-sems-dpa' sems-dpa'-chen-po Zla-ba'i snying-pos zhus-pa-las
N: byang-chub sems-dpa' Zla-ba'i snying-pos zhus-pa-las
X: 'phags-pa Zla-ba'i snying-pos zhus-pa'i mdo-las |

262 T: —
N: —
X: sangs-rgyas mya-ngan-las 'das-nas bstan-pa gnas-pa dang | 'jig-pa'i tshul

263 T: lung bstan-ba rdzogs-s.ho | |
N: lung bstan-pa rdzogso | | | |
X: lung bstan-pa'i skabs[1] rdzogs-so[2] | | | |
[1] P3 inserts | | | | ; P1 inserts | only (other three *shad* hand-erased in P1)
[2] P1,P3 *-s.ho*

English Translation of the Tibetan Version

{The Prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) of the Way the Buddha's Teaching Will Endure and Be Destroyed, from the **Ārya-Candragarbha-paripṛcchā-sūtra*.[1]}[a]

{Formerly}[b] the Buddha, the Lord Śākyamuni was dwelling at the top of Mt. Khadiraka,[c,2] and at that time – when the great-powered ones (the bodhisattva-mahāsattvas of the ten directions together with [their] retinues, arhats, gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *kiṃnaras*, *mahoragas*, *garudas*, *māras* and so on[3]) had all assembled [there] – at that time from the space between the eyebrows on the face of the Buddha, the Lord Śākyamuni, there came forth a ray of light, completely permeating [with] the ray of light the four continents: Videha in the east, Jambudvīpa in the south, Aparagodanīya in the west, and Uttarakuru in the north. At the time when the ray of light was sent forth, it shone equally on Mt. Meru[d] in the center and the rest of the great mountains, and on all the [ordinary] mountains, woods, medicinal valleys, mountain caves,[e] and ravines,[4] and all four continents were illuminated and became visible, as if [they were in] the palm of one's hand. And from those rays of light there emerged a host of Buddha-forms,[f] luminous and of various colors and shapes. And all [those] {many}[g] sentient beings – bodhisattvas,

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[a] X only.

[b] Not in P1.

[c] T *Kha-dhiṛhag*, N *Kharhi-hag*, P1 *Kha-dhi-rhag*, P3,D,L *Kha-rhi-rhag*.

[d] T *ri Mye-ro 'bar-ba*, N *Me-ro bar*, X *Ri-rab*.

[e] T *sla-sul*, N,X *ri-sul*.

[f] *sangs-rgyas phal-po-che'i sku-gzugs*.

[g] X only.

{gods,}[h] *nāgas* and so on – saw them, and were amazed.

Then the four great[i] kings – Vaiśravaṇa[j,5] and so on – said to the Lord Śākyamuni, "A ray of light like this – for what reason was it produced?" And the Lord replied, "After I have attained nirvana, the scriptures of the True Dharma (*saddharma*) which I have pronounced, [my] relics, and [my] images will arise like this [i.e., will appear everywhere] in the four continents. These I shall commit[6] into your hands. Protect [them]!"

Then the bodhisattva Candragarbha said to the Lord, "O Lord, it is a great kindness[k] [on your part] that, out of such great kindness as this, the True Dharma will be committed to the great kings after the Lord has entered nirvana. If after the nirvana of the Buddha[s] who have gone before, the reflection of the True Dharma (*saddharma-pratirūpaka*) disappeared after [only] seven years had passed,[7] how long will the True Dharma endure after the Lord Śākyamuni has attained nirvana?" Then the Lord replied, "It is good that you have asked [concerning] your doubts[m] in this way. Listen well, and I shall explain [to you]. After I have attained nirvana, the reflection of the True Dharma will endure for two thousand years."

The bodhisattva Candragarbha asked, "O Lord, how will this True Dharma finally[n] disappear? For what reason will it decline, and who will

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[h] Not in T.

[i] N,X *chen-po*, T *ched-po* (henceforth not noted).

[j] T, P1,P3 *Be-sha-ra-ma-na*, N *Bai-shrar-ma-na*, D,L *Bai-shra-wa-na*.

[k] T,N "it is a great kindness" (*thugs-rje che'o*), X "it is very marvelous" (*shin-tu ngo-mtshar-to*).

[m] L *chos zhus-pa* ("asked [concerning] the Dharma").

[n] T *mtha'*, N,X *tha-mar*.

bring it to an end?" [The Lord] replied, "After {I}[o] have attained nirvana, during a period of five hundred years there will be many sentient beings who will practice my teachings and attain liberation. Then again, during a [second] period of five hundred years, there will be many who practice contemplation (*samādhi*).[8] But even though {many}[p] kings and {ministers and ordinary}[q] sentient beings will believe in the True Dharma and practice it, afterwards they will become few. Then, during a [third] period of five hundred years, there will appear many teachers who will teach the True Dharma, lead sentient beings, and cause them to attain liberation. [But] as to śravakas and arhats, they will become few. Kings, {ministers,}[r] and ordinary sentient beings[9] will be reduced to merely listening [to the teaching]; they will not take it to heart and practice it, nor will they exert themselves, and their faith (*śraddhā*) will decrease. The protectors of the True Dharma will be displeased, and the power of sentient beings who do not believe in the True Dharma will become greater than before. The kings of Jambudvīpa will lead armies to and fro against one another, and will do battle. {[And] the party of Māra will increase.}[s]

Then at the time of the [next] five hundred year [period], as for [the first] three hundred years, the protectors of sentient beings who dwell in the True Dharma – gods, *nāgas* and so on – will not remain, {but will go

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[o] Not in T.

[p] N only (*sems-can phal-po-che*).

[q] X only (*blon-po dang / sems-can phal-rnams*).

[r] Not in N.

[s] Not in N.

[elsewhere] to spread the True Dharma.}[t] {Sentient beings will no longer believe in the Dharma.}[u] Even those sentient beings who practice the Dharma will not practice it in accordance with the basic Dharma texts. Because [their] efforts are small, their attainments will be few. The four [principal] colors[10] and those derived from the four will decline, and {smell,}[v] taste and so forth will diminish. And human diseases, animal diseases, and famine will arise.

In [the final] two hundred years, even monks will not practice in accordance with the True Dharma. They will seek worldly profit and fame; their compassion will be meagre, and they will not live according to the precepts (*śikṣā*). They will put down with those who do practice in accordance with the True Dharma, and will cast aspersions upon them. They will steal [their] valuables and necessities. Relying on assassins[w] of worldly kings, they will grasp at the kingdom. Acting as the king's messengers, they will go about seeking profit. They will sow discord between kings and their subjects, and will search for ways to trade and make a profit. Even those who do practice the True Dharma will not do so having truly taken it to heart. [Rather,] they will occupy themselves with all sorts of frivolous talk, casual activities, and playful vacuities. At that time all the gods and *nāgas* who delight in the Dharma will abandon the land where the monks of the kingdom act in such a way, and will not remain, and the party of those who obstruct the Dharma – the party of Māra and so on – will arise there, and their power and strength

[t] Not in N; X reads *dam-pa'i chos gang-du dar-bar 'gro-bar 'gyur* ("will go to where the True Dharma is spreading").

[u] Not in T.

[v] Not in T.

[w] reading *gsang* ("secret") as an error for *gsad* ("killer").

will increase. Kings, ministers and so on will decline in faith; they will no longer perceive the distinction between virtue and vice, and they will do harm to the True Dharma. They will make use of the treasures of the Three Jewels and the goods of the saṃgha and will steal them, and they will not shrink from sin. They will gradually destroy images and stupas,[x] and the goods [used for] worship will diminish.

At that time there will remain a few monks and householders who will practice the True Dharma without error, and because of their merit (*puṇya*) there will exist[y] {a few}[z] happy countries where rain will fall in the region at the proper times, {harvests will be good,}[aa] and human and animal sicknesses will be few. But for the great numbers who do not live in this way,[ab] various kinds of sufferings and unhappiness will arise.

At that time there will arise three great Indian and non-Indian[11] kings – the three [being] Greek,[ac] Parthian,[ad,12] and Saka[ae,13] – and these three will not practice the True Dharma. Leading armies and waging war, they will annihilate many territories in the west and north. {Then}[af] they will destroy and set fire to the stupas, temples and so on in those territories, and they will steal and appropriate the materials [used for] worship and

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[x] T (*gzugs-brnyan dang mchod-rten*)-*gyi̱ khams*, presumably an error for -*gyi rnams* (as in N).

[y] *yod*; X "will arise" (*'byung*).

[z] X only.

[aa] Not in T.

[ab] X "in that way" (*de-lta-bu*).

[ac] T *ya-bha-na*, N *yā-ba-ṇa-ba* [*sic*], X *ya-ba-na*.

[ad] T *pa-la-ba*, N *ba-la-bā*, X "Bactrian" (*ba-lhi-ka*).

[ae] T *sheg-ku-na*, N *shi-ku-na*, X *sha-ku-na*.

[af] X only.

the treasures belonging to the Three Jewels. These three kings will inflict various kinds of harm on each other, and the kingdoms of the three of them will become unhappy. After that, the three kings will join forces and, having united their many armies, they will sieze and take over the countries of India. At that time they will sieze and take over the countries on this side of the Ganges[ag] River – the countries of Gandhāra,[ah] Madhyadeśa[ai] and so on.[14]

At that time, on the other side of the Ganges, on its southern bank, in the country of Kauśāmbī[aj] a son will be born to the king named Mahendrasena.[ak] His name will be called Dusprasaha,[al] and he will be born with an iron mole between his eyebrows and with his arms covered with blood from the elbow down. At the same time, to five hundred ministers {of that king}[am] there will be born five hundred sons, all born with their hands bloody from the wrist down. At that time to the king {'s horse}[an] there will be born a foal that is able to speak. And that evening {when these have been born to the king, his ministers, and [his] horse,}[ao] showers of blood will fall from the sky.

[ag] T,N *'Ga'-'ga'*, X *Gang-gā*.

[ah] T *'Ga'-'dha-ra*, N, P3 *'Gan-dha-ra*, P1 *Bgan-da-ra*, D,L *Gan-da-ra*.

[ai] T *Mad-dha-dhe-sha*, N *Ma-ha-de-sha*, P1,P3 *Ma-dhya-de-sha*, D,L *Ma-ddya-de-sha*.

[aj] T *Ke'u-sham-'byi*, N *Ko'u-sha-bi*, P1,P3 *Ke'u-sham-bhi*, D,L *Ko'u-shām-bī*.

[ak] T *Mhen-dra-se-na*, N *Ma-he-na-'dra-se* [*sic*], X *Ma-hen-dra-se-na*.

[al] T *Drus-sprha-lha-hra*, N *Tu-pra-sa-ha*, P1,P3,D *Du-spra-sa-ha-sta*, L *Du-sbra-sa-ha-sta*.

[am] X only.

[an] X only.

[ao] X only.

Then King Mahendrasena[ap] will ask a seer-preceptor (*ṛsyupa-dhyāya*), possessed of the five[15] superknowledges (*abhijñā*), "The birth of sons to our retinue and such a marvel as this to [my] horse, and the falling of a rain of blood – of what is this an omen?" And the seer will reply, "Your son will soak this territory of Jambudvīpa with blood. And afterwards, your son will become the king of [all] Jambudvīpa."

When twelve years have passed from the time that prince is first born, at that time the assembled armies of 300,000 of the three kings Greek,[aq] Parthian[ar] and Saka,[as] together with the kings [themselves], will invade the country of King Mahendrasena.[at] And because of the arrival of these vast armies in [his] country, the king will be cast down, and will be in distress. His son Dusprasaha[au] will ask his father, "Father, why are you so cast down?" And when he says this, his father will reply, "I am unhappy because the armies of the three [great?] kings have appeared in our country." When he says this the son will reply, "Father, do not be unhappy! {Do not be unhappy!}[av] I shall take on these armies." And when he says this the father will reply, "Good!"

Then his son, the five hundred marvelous [sons] of the ministers and so on forth will assemble an army of 200,000 and send it forth. And

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[ap] T *Men-drha-se-na*, N *Ma-he-na-'dra-se-na*, P1,P3 *Ma-hen-gra-se-na*, D,L *Ma-hen-dra-se-na*.

[aq] T,X *Ya-ba-na*, N *Ya-ba*.

[ar] T *Pa-la-ba*, N *Ba-lā-ba*, X *Ba-lhi-ka*.

[as] T *Shag-ku-na*, N,X *Sha-ku-na*.

[at] T *Men-dra-se-na*, N *Ma-he-na-'dra-se-na*, X *Ma-hen-dra-se-na*.

[au] T *Du-spra-ba-sam* [*sic*], N *Du-pras-has*, P1,P3 *Du-spra-sa-ha-sta*, D,L *Du-spra-sa-hasta*.

[av] T only.

having done this, during the battle the iron mole between the eyebrows [of the prince] will grow prominent, and his entire body will become [like] iron; and filled with wrath, he will fight. The army of Dusprasaha[aw] army will be victorious, and upon their return his father will say, "Son, it is good that you have fought with armies like these of the three kings and have been victorious. From now on, you take over the kingdom. As for me, I shall go forth [as a monk]." And so instructing him, the son will take over the kingdom.[ax]

Then, having fought with the armies of the three kings for twelve years, [Dusprasaha] will destroy all [their] many armies.[ay] And having siezed the three kings, he will put them to death. And from then on, he will become the great king of Jambudvīpa.[az]

Then the king will say to[ba] the ministers, "I am happy to be king of Jambudvīpa, but but there is still one thing that that makes me unhappy." And when he speaks thus, the ministers will say, "What is it that makes you unhappy?" When they have asked him that, the king will reply, "I am unhappy because of the great sin of having killed so many sentient beings. What can I do to purify this sin?"[bb] When he speaks thus, the ministers will reply, "In the country called Pāṭaliputra[bc] {that is to say, "Possessing

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[aw] T,N *Du-spra-sa-ha*, P1,P3 *Du-spra-sa-ha-sta*, D,L *Du-spra-sa-hasta*.

[ax] X "he will give the kingdom to his son" (*srid kyang bu-la byin-no*).

[ay] X "he will also destroy all their military officers" (*dmag-dpon yang ril-gyis gtubs*).

[az] T "the king[s] of Jambudvīpa will be annihilated" (*'Dzam-bu-gling-gi rgyal-po myed-par gyur-ro*, where *myed* is a copying error for *byed*).

[ba] N,X *smras-pa*; T "will ask" (*dris-pa*).

[bb] N replaces the last sentence with "having committed a sin like this, by whom will it be purified?" (*sdig-pa 'di-lta-bu-zhig-tu byas-nas / sus 'byang-bar 'gyur*).

[bc] T *Ba-da-li'i-pod-tra*, N *Bo-da-li-po-tra*, P1 *Ba-ta-li-bu-tra*, P3 *Pa-ṭa-li-phu-tra*,

a Red Son"}[bd,16] there lives in a hermitage-place a Dharma-master who knows the *tripiṭaka,* the son of the brahman Agnidatta[be] {that is to say, "Fire-given Son"},[bf] a son named Śisyaka[bg,17] {that is to say, "he who has disciples"}.[bh] If you invite him {and do homage to him,}[bh] he will be able to purify your sin." When they say this the king will be delighted, and he will send a summons to the monk Śisyaka.[bi] And [Śisyaka] will come into the presence of the king. Then the king will bow before the Śisyaka[bj] the preceptor and will ask, "{O preceptor,}[bk] the sins that I have committed – by what means can they be purified?" When he says this, the preceptor will reply, "O great king, if you worship the three jewels and take refuge in them for a period of twelve years, [your] sins will be purified."

Then [the king] will send a summons to all the monks living in Jambudvīpa,[bl] and they all will come and assemble on the other side of

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D,L *Pa-ṭa-li-pu-tra.*

[bd] X only.

[be] T *Ag-na-tra-ta'i bu,* N *A-kan-dra-dha'i bu,* P1,P3 *Ag-ne-ta-ti-bu-tra,* D,L *Ag-ni-da-ti-pu-tra.*

[bf] X only.

[bg] T *Shir-sha-ga,* N, P1 *Shir-sha-ka,* P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka* [*sic,* where *-ṣu-* is a copying error for *-sya-*], D,L *Shi-sya-ka.*

[bh] X only.

[bi] See note bg.

[bj] T *Shir-she-ka,* N,P1 *Shir-sha-ka,* P3,D,L *Shi-sya-ka.*

[bk] X only.

[bl] X replaces the first portion of this sentence with "Then King Dusprasaha will send many messengers to the ten directions, and all the monks of Jambudvīpa..." (*de-nas rgyal-po Du-spra-sa-ha-stas pho-nya mang-po phyogs-bcur btang-ste /*). P1 and P3 then add "and [they] will summon all the monks in Jambudvīpa" (*'Dzm-bu'i gling-na dge-slong 'du-go-boc bkug-te /*).

the Ganges,[bm] {at the place}[bn] where {Dusprasaha,}[bo] the king of the country of Kauśāmbī,[bp] is dwelling. And as a result, the other regions of Jambudvīpa will become devoid of practitioners of the Dharma {and of monks}.[bq] At the time when those monks assemble, many will have perished along the way, only 100,000 will arrive at the king's court. Those monks who have perished along the way, moreover, will have perished by being carried off by various wild animals, human savages, water and so on. When many saṃghas[18] [do] arrive, the king will offer them a religious feast, and will do homage to them with offerings.

At that time, when the saṃghas exchange news with one another – each saying "Where is your preceptor? Where have [your] students gone? Where are your companions and fellow practitioners?" – when they had given out the news that they were killed by tigers, lions, and human savages, [or] carried off by water, [or] were struck by illness and died, the monks will each be distressed, and overcome by sobs they will beat their breasts. Then at that time the king will bid them "Do not be upset! Do not weep!" [But] the saṃghas will not heed him. And the king too, having become unhappy, will turn his face aside and fall asleep.

While he is sleeping he will make a vow: "Now in these worldly saṃghas there will be no refuge.[br] Let me see the face of an arhat!" And

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[bm] T,N *'Ga'-'ga'*, X *Gang-gā.*

[bn] X only.

[bo] X only.

[bp] T *Ke'u-sham-'byi*, N *Ko'u-sha-bi*, P1 *Ke'u-sham-ha* [*sic*], P3 *Ko'u-sham-ba'i*, D,L *Ko'u-shām-bī.*

[bq] X only.

[br] X replaces this sentence with "Although I have taken refuge in and done homage

when he has made that vow, a god of [this] world will reveal to him in a dream: "On the mountain Mt. Gandhamādana,[bs] {that is to say, the mountain called "Having the Smell of Incense"}[bt] there is dwelling {an arhat,}[bu] Sudhana's son[bv,19] {that is to say, "Son of the Merchant 'Good Wealth,'"a renunciant named}[bw] Sūrata[bx] {that is to say, whose name is called "Of Good Nature," who has attained the fruit of arhat[ship].}[by] If you invite him, {honor him, and confess [your] sin to him,}[bz] [your] sin will be purified, and your doubts will also be removed," thus he will reveal. And having dreamed [this], when the king awakens he will again send out a messenger. And having invited {the arhat Sūrata from Having-the-Smell-of-Incense Mountain},[ca] [the arhat] will come {to the king's palace}.[cb] And the king will do homage and bow to the arhat.[cc]

At that time, at the time of the evening of the fourteenth day,[20] from among all the assembled samghas [some] newly arrived monks will ask the

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to the samgha of [ordinary] people, I have not seen the face of an arhat" (*gang-zag-gi dge-'dun- la ni skyabs-su song-nas mchod-pa byas-na / bdag-gis dgra-bcom-pa'i zhal ma-mthong-ste*).

[bs] T *K.han-dha-ma-ha-ya-na'i ri*, N *Gan-dha-ma-ha-na'i ri*, P1 *Gan-da-ma-ya*, P3,D,L *Gandha-māda-na*.

[bt] X only.

[bu] T,N only.

[bv] T *S.hu-dha-ra-sh.ha-na'i bu*, N *Su-rad-sha-na'i bu*, P1 *Su-dha-rha-sha-na*, P3 *Su-dha-na-pu-tra-ra-tna-sha* [*sic*], D,L *Su-dhana-pu-tra-ra-tna-sa*.

[bw] X only.

[bx] T *Su-rad*, N *Su-ra-da*, P1 *Su-dha-dha*, P3 *Surat*, D,L *Su-ra-ta*.

[by] X only.

[bz] X only.

[ca] X only.

[cb] X only.

[cc] X replaces this sentence with "And the king, bowing to him in the [proper] manner, will honor and do homage to him."

tripiṭaka-knower Śisyaka,[cd] the preceptor, to explain the Vinaya.[ce] [But] Śisyaka[cf] will say, "To a man who is blind, and has no nose or ears, what need is there for a mirror? What will he [be able to] see? Even if I explain the Vinaya, you will not act according to the Vinaya. To those who do not keep the Buddhist precepts (*dharma-śikṣā*), what is the use of explaining the Vinaya?" And when he speaks thus, at that time the arhat will speak with the voice of a lion: "From the time when I first took the Buddhist precepts until now, I have not harmed so much as [a blade of] *kuśa* grass. Do not say such words. Explain the Vinaya!"[cg]

And when he says this, Śisyaka[ch] the preceptor – having realized that [Sūrata] is an arhat – will be deeply ashamed, and will not say a word. The monk named Aṅgada[ci] {that is, "Fearful Assembly of the Upper Arm" [*sic*]},[cj,21] who is Śisyaka's[ck] disciple, will arise from among those assembled together and will [shout] angrily at that arhat named Sūrata,[cl] "How can you say these words to my preceptor? You don't keep [lit. "have"] the precepts,[cm] and you don't know the Vinaya! So why do you

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[cd] T *Shir-sha-ka*, N,P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka*, *D,L Shi-sya-ka*.

[ce] X replaces "explain the Vinaya" with "recite the *Prātimokṣa*" (*prā-ti-mo-kṣa gden-pa*).

[cf] T *Sher-she-ka*, N,P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka*, D,L *Shi-sya-ka*.

[cg] X replaces this sentence with "Recite the *Prātimokṣa*!" (*prā-ti-mo-kṣa thon-cig*).

[ch] T *Shir-she-kya*, N,P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *She-ṣu-ka*, D,L *Shi-sya-ka*.

[ci] T *A-gandhe'i* [*sic*], N *A-ka-de*, P1 *A-gan-ti*, P3 *Aṃ-ga-ta*, D,L *Aṃ-ga-da*.

[cj] X only.

[ck] T *Shir-she-ka*, N,P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-ṣu-ka*, D,L *Shi-sya-ka*.

[cl] T,N,P1 *Su-rad*, P3 *Su-rat*, D,L *Su-ra-ta*.

[cm] Following N and X, which read *khyod khrims kyang med* "you do not have the precepts (*śikṣā*)," as vs. T *khyod khrims-zla yang myed* ("you do not have fellow practitioners").

despise my preceptor, who possesses[cn] the the *tripiṭaka*?"he will rage [at him]. And siezing a door-bolt, he will strike the arhat and kill him.

At that time a Dharma-loving *yakṣa* named Dadhimukha,[co] {[that is,] "Curd-face Dīrghamukha"}[cp] will appear grasping a vajra in [his] hand, and will say to the monk Aṅgada,[cq] "Why did you kill an arhat?" And bringing out the vajra, he will kill him. At that time a monk named *Kedāra[cr,22] will strike Śiṣyaka[cs] the preceptor and kill him. Then after that[ct] the saṃghas will all fight and kill one another; and not a single one will remain [alive].

At that time {from}[cu] the sky the tears of the gods, *nāgas* and the rest of the host of *dharmapālas* who will be unhappy and weep will fall {to the ground}[cv] as a rain of blood and fire. The skies will become yellow and black, and there will be lightning and thunder. From the body [of] a star named Dhūmaketu[cw] what looks like black smoke will come forth, and then[cx] the moon, stars and so on will be deprived of their light, and not a

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[cn] N,X read "who knows the *tripiṭaka*" (*sde-snod gsum-ka mkhas-pa*).

[co] T *'Dhid-dha-mu-kha*, N *Di-ta-mu-kha*, P1 *Dir-rga-mu-kha*, P3,D,L *Da-dhi-mu-kha*.

[cp] P3,D,L only. (Note that P3 reads *Dir-nam-kha'* [*sic*] for the *Dir-rga-mu-kha* of the other two versions.)

[cq] T *A-gan-la*, N *A-ga-di*, P1 *A-gan-ti*, P3 *A-gad*, *D,L Aṃ-ga-da*.

[cr] T,N,D *Ge-rad*, P1 *Gi-rang*, P3 *Ge-rang*, L *Gi-rad*.

[cs] T *Shir-she-ka*, N, P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-shuka* [*sic*], D,L *Shi-sya-ka*.

[ct] N,X *de'i rjes-la*; T *rdo-rje'i rjes-la*, "after the vajra" [*sic*].

[cu] N only; accidentally omitted in T, changed to *-la* ("in") in X.

[cv] T,N only.

[cw] T *'Du-mu-ge-ta*, N *Du-ma-ke-du*, P1 *Du-ma-ke-du*, P3 *Du-me-ke-du*, D,L *Dhū-ma-ke-tu*.

[cx] T,N *de-nas*; X "by that" (*des*).

single one [of them] will be visible. At that time the gods of the *trayastriṃśa* heaven – mother Mahāmāyā[cy] and the rest – together with [their] numerous retinues will arrive there, gather up all the colored robes of the saṃgha, and carry them off.

At that time the king will say, "What is the cause of such a great hue and cry as this?" And [his retinue] will tell him, "the saṃghas have fought and killed one another." And the king will be unhappy, and will get up and go at dawn to the temple outside the castle. Some of the monks will have their heads cut off, some their hands and feet cut off,[cz] some their eyes plucked out. And when he sees that they have died in those various ways, having found the bodies[da] of the arhat and of Śisyaka[db] the preceptor, who knew the *tripiṭaka*, [the king] will place one under each arm[dc] and say, "The arhat was my mother;[dd,23] Śisyaka[de] was my Dharma-treasury. [Now that] these two have passed away, from now on I do not care even for my [own] body and soul (*jīva*). As to [the] kingdom, I shall give it to whoever wants it." And when he has spoken thus, his eyes will become dark, and he will be unable to see.

At that time the ministers will take pity upon the king, and in order to

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[cy] T. illegible; N *Māhāmaya*, P1 *Ma-ya-dem-bi*, P3 *Ma-ya-de-ba'i*, D,L *Mā-yā-de-bi.*

[cz] Following the reading of N and X; T has *rkang-pa bcag* ("their legs were injured").

[da] N,X "having searched for the bodies of the arhat and of Śisyaka the preceptor, who knew the *tripiṭaka*, and finding the bodies of the two of them."

[db] T *Sher-she-ka*, N,P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-shu-ka*, D,L *Shi-sya-ka*.

[dc] Lit. "placing them at his right and left armpits."

[dd] T,N *ma* "mother"; X *pha* "father."

[de] T *Shir-she-kha*, N *Shir-shā-ka*, P1 *Shir-sha-ka*, P3 *Shi-su-ka*, D,L *Shi-sya-ka*.

relieve his suffering they will disguise five hundred men as [Buddhist] mendicants (*ban-de*).[24] Not cutting [their] hair and beard with a razor, they will burn their hair and beard with fire. Since the one hundred and ten[df] kinds of dyes will also have disappeared at that time, the five hundred *bande* will be unable to obtain monastic robes, and will put on black[dg] and red animal hides.[25] And having disguised themselves as *bande*, they will go before the king.

The ministers will say to the king, "Five hundred *bande* have arrived." The king will be delighted. His eyes will open, and when he looks at[dh] the *bande*, he will not see that they are all dressed in animal skins, and that their hair and beards have not been not shaved, but are burned with fire.[di] The king will be delighted, and will order [his retinue] "Bring me the materials to do homage to the three jewels!" {And he will do homage to the *bande*.}[dj]

{When the king examines the *bande* closely, he will see clearly that they are dressed in monastic robes [made of] animal skins, and that their hair and beards have not been shaved, but burned with fire. Then the king will grow doubtful. "These are surely not monks," he will think [to himself], "let me question them a bit."}[dk] When the king asks {the

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[df] X "one hundred" (*brgya*).

[dg] Bu-ston changes this unexpected color to read "yellow" (*ser*); cf. note 25.

[dh] X "when he examines" (*brtags-na*).

[di] The Tun-huang ms. is totally corrupt here; it reads *myes ma-btab-bar mthong-nas*, "seeing that they are not struck by fire."

[dj] Not in T.

[dk] X only.

bande}[dl] concerning his doubts,[dm] {they will not know a single thing about the Dharma.}[dn] {Not one of them will know even a little bit about monks' views, precepts, and religious practices, so they will not answer the king, but will sit saying nothing. And the king will think [to himself]: "Now look how the Buddha's teaching has disappeared, and and the way of the three jewels is completely cut off!"}[do] And the king will be overcome by {great}[dp] suffering, and will weep.

{Then the king}[dq] will take the all many dead bodies of the many *bande*[dr] and will cremate them and do homage to them. {And after that the king himself, his heart pained by the fact of the disappearance of the teaching, will pass away.}[ds,26]

At that time, on that occasion, the True Dharma (*saddharma*) in Jambudvīpa will completely disappear. {And even the letters of the scriptures will become invisible, as if one erased a conch shell.}[dt,27]

[Then] gold will become bad silver and stone.[du] As to silver, it will

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dl T only.

dm N "when the king asks [concerning] the Dharma" (*rgyal-pos chos dris-pa-dang*), X "when he asks what the monks' views and precepts are" (*dge-slong-gi lta-ba dang tshul-khrims gang yin zhes dris-na*).

dn T,N only.

do X only.

dp X only.

dq X only.

dr N "having collected all the dead bodies of the *bande*"(*ban-de shi-ba'i ro ril-gyis bsdus-nas*); X "having taken the corpses of the many bande who had been killed and died" (*ban-de phal-po-che btungs-te shi-ba'i ro-rnams blangs-te*).

ds X only; P1,P3 replace "pass away" (*'das-so*) with "come away" (*'ongs-so*).

dt X only.

du X "gold will become silver" (*gser ni dngul-du 'gyur-ro*).

become brass.[dv] Brass will become copper {and iron will become stone.}[dw] Jewels and pearls will turn to horn. Of the six flavors of food,[28] four – sweet[dx] {sour, and salty flavors}[dy] and so on – will disappear. [And only] two – the bitter and the pungent[dz] – will remain.

The {occasion of the}[ea] prophecy {[concerning] the way in which the teaching will endure and be destroyed after the nirvana of the Buddha},[eb] from the {sutra}[ec] requested {of}[ed] the Buddha Śākyamuni by the bodhisattva-{mahāsattva}[ee] {Ārya-}[ef] Candragarbha is ended.[eg]

[dv] N "will become bad brass and stone" (*ra-gan ngan-pa dang rdor 'gyur*); X "will become copper and iron" (*zangs dang lcags-su 'gyur-ro*).

[dw] X only.

[dx] T *dngar-zhing zhim-ba*, N *mngar-zhing zhim-pa*; X *mngar-ba*.

[dy] X only.

[dz] T *cub-pan*, N *rtsub-pa*; X "astringent"(*bska-ba*).

[ea] X only.

[eb] X only.

[ec] X only.

[ed] Not in T.

[ee] T only.

[ef] X only.

[eg] T,P1,P3 *rdzogs-s.ho*, N *rdzogso*, D,L *rdzogs-so*.

Notes to the Tibetan Version

1. This Sanskrit title is a reconstruction based on the Tibetan and does not occur in any extant version of the text. Its absence may be due simply to the fact that this text is an excerpt from a longer work, which presumably would have carried such a Sanskrit title only at the beginning. We should note, however, that during the imperial period such Indian titles were apparently not used, and those that appear in the much later Kanjur editions may well be later reconstructions based on the Tibetan (see Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan," *JA* CCXLI [1953], pp. 313-353 [p. 315]).
2. Mt. Khadiraka, one of the seven mythical "great mountains" said to surround Mt. Meru (see L. de la Vallée Poussin, trans., *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* [Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926], Chapter III, §48b-49c [p. 141]), is a highly unusual locale for the preaching of a Buddhist sutra. Generally the preaching of a sutra by the Buddha is localized at a known historical site in the Indian subcontinent; indeed it was this historical specificity, in part, that served to legitimize the authenticity of the scriptures in the formative stages of the tradition (see Étienne Lamotte, "La critique de l'authenticité dans le bouddhisme," in *India Antiqua: A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Jean Philippe Vogel* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1947], pp. 213-222). The same mountain is the site of the preaching of two other sutras found in the Tibetan Kanjur: the *Daśa-cakra-kṣitigarbha-sūtra* (Peking No. 905) and the *Sūryagarbha-sūtra* (Peking No. 923). Note that both of these works form part of the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* cycle, which may suggest a special association between Mt. Khadiraka and the the *Mahāsaṃnipāta* literature.
3. The expression "and so on" is written *la-sogs-pa* in the newer xylograph editions, but note that the Peking 1 edition maintains the older *-stsogs-* for *-sogs-*. The Tunhuang manuscript provides an example of the most ancient attested form, *las-stsogs-pa'*, in which the ablative, not the dative, particle was used. The etymology of the original expression cannot be established with certainty, but cf. the forms *stsogs-pa* "neighbor" (Roerich, vyp. 7, p. 221b) and *rtsog-pa* "pioneer, one gone ahead or going on ahead" (Das 1014b).
4. The expression *grag-grog* (N *grag-grogs*) is not attested in existing dictionaries, but appears to be a reduplicative formation of the type discussed by G. Uray in *AOH* 4 [1955], pp. 220-231, in which the original vowel is retained in the second syllable but reduced to *a* in the first. For a likely antecedent of this form see *grog-po* (Roerich, vyp. 2, 106b), "a deep ravine in which a torrent flows; laternal valley." The Mongolian

renders *grag-grog* as *subaγqaγurqal*, an expression which is somewhat problematic in itself but appears to mean something like "aqueduct-crevice"; for further discussion see note 35 to the English translation of the Mongolian.

5. For the mythology surrounding this figure see the article "Bishamon" in Paul Demiéville, ed., *Hôbôgirin*, Fasc. 1 (A-Bombai) (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929), pp. 79a-83b; and more recently Phyllis Granoff, "Tobatsu Bishamon: Three Japanese Statues in the United States and an Outline of the Rise of This Cult in East Asia," *East and West*, 20 (1970), pp. 144-167. Note that the older Tibetan versions use forms of his name (T,P1,P3 *Be-sha-ra-ma-na*; N *Bai-shrar-ma-na*) derived from the Central Asian Prakrit spelling *Vaiśramana* (cf. Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 513a) and not from Sanskrit *Vaiśravaṇa*. In standard classical Tibetan the name is translated, not transliterated, as *Rnam-thos-kyi bus*(e.g. *Mvy*. 3146, 3367).
6. The future form "shall commit" is written *gtad-do* in the Tunhuang manuscript and *btad-do* [*sic*] in the Narthang edition, but *gtad-kyis* in the other xylograph editions. On the use of *-kyis* (*-gis/-gyis/-yis/-'s*) as a future particle see Helmut H. Hoffmann, "Über ein wenig beachtetes Hilfswort zur Bezeichnung der Zukunft im Tibetischen," *Corolla Linguistica: Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955), pp. 73-79. A later spelling (which frequently replaces the *-kyis* series in the Lhasa Kanjur) is *-kyi* (*-gi/-gyi/-yi*); for this form see Marcelle Lalou, *Manuel élementaire de tibétain classique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950), §26,10. It is possible to discern here a progression from *-kyis* (older literary Tibetan) → *-kyi* (later literary Tibetan) → *-kyi-yin/-kyi-red* (modern spoken Tibetan).
7. This number is unexpectedly small. I have been unable to find any reference to the teachings of a previous Buddha lasting only seven years.
8. The expression *ting-nge 'dzin*, which serves as the regular Tibetan equivalent of Skt. *samādhi* "contemplation, meditative absorption" (*Mvy*. nos. 126, 145, 506-623, 736, 811 and *passim*.), exhibits several rather anomalous features. First, while the usual Tibetan practice is to render Sanskrit technical terms into Tibetan by means of etymological translation (based on real or fictional etymologies), there is no visible connection between the literal meaning of Skt. *samādhi* ("putting together, joining or combining with" < *sam-ā-√dhā*, see MW 1159c) and Tib. *ting-nge 'dzin* (lit. "[to] grasp *ting-nge*," the form *ting-nge* being unattested separately), unless perhaps the Tibetans excerpted the elements *ā-√dhā* alone and interpreted them in the fairly uncommon sense of "keep, hold, possess" (see MW 138b). Second, the elements *ting* and *nge*, whether taken together or individually, have no apparent etymology in Tibetan. Third, the initial letter *t-* , while not unknown in Tibetan, is relatively rare,

occurring most commonly in loan words of Indian (or occasionally Chinese) origin and in onomatopoeic expressions (cf. Das, 512a-519b).

Given that a large percentage of the Tibetan words in *t-* are of foreign origin, we might consider the possibility that *ting-nge* represents a loan word borrowed into Tibetan during the early stages of the formation of its Buddhist vocabulary. The word was clearly well established already during the imperial period, since it appears in numerous entires in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, a compilation dating from the early 9th century, and in at least one of the titles [no. 535] of Buddhist works translated into Tibetan by the time of King Khri-srong lde-btsan [d. 797]; see M. Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan," *JA* CCXLI [1953], pp. 313-353.) No Indian antecedent for the term *ting-nge* is readily apparent. On the Chinese side, however, the word *ting* 定 ("establish, fix, settle") is used as one of the standard translations of Skt. *samādhi*. An antecedent of the component *nge* is less apparent, but perhaps we should consider the expression *ting-hui* 定 慧, literally "meditation [and] wisdom" (cf. Soothill, p. 255a), a compound used frequently in Buddhist (especially Ch'an) literature of the T'ang period. (I would like to thank Dr. John R. McRae [personal communication, 1986] for making this suggestion.) In Karlgren's reconstruction (nos. 1000, 829) these characers would read *d'ieng' γiʷei'* in Ancient Chinese (6th c. A.D.), a pronunciation that would appear to be a reasonable antecedent of Tib. *ting-nge*. (The rounded vowel in the second syllable might appear to be an obstacle to accepting this derivation, but cf. the Japanese pronunciations *e* (*go'on* reading) and *kei* (*kan'on* reading) for examples of the treatment of this term in a language that does not admit diphthongs containing the rounded-unrounded vowel sequence. Tibetan, of course, does not admit any diphthongs at all; thus we should expect such a Chinese term to have undergone considerable phonetic alteration if it were accepted into Tibetan as a loan word.)

It is also possible that the syllable *nge* is in fact a native Tibetan suffix of the type discussed by G. Uray in "The suffix *-e* in Tibetan" (*AOH* 3 [1953], 229-244). All such formations cited by Uray, however, are all based on genuine Tibetan words, not on loan words from other languages, and there does not appear to be any Tibetan word **ting* on which such a formation could have been based. Thus this possibility, in my view, is considerably less likely.

In view of the still-lively debate concerning the extent of Chinese (especially Ch'an) influence on early Tibetan Buddhism, the presence of a Chinese loan word meaning "meditation" in the earliest layer of Tibetan Buddhist vocabulary would be of considerable significance as evidence of the extent of Chinese input during the

formative stages of that tradition.

9. Note the use of the plural suffix *-rnams* as a free-standing collective noun in the Tun-huang and Narthang versions, where it is preceded by a genitive particle.
10. The four principal colors are presumably black (including dark blue and dark green), yellow, red and white (or "shining"); see Robert Caesar Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pāli Language* (London: Trübner & Co., 1875), p. 549b s.v. *vaṇṇo.*
11. The phrase which I have translated as "Indian and non-Indian" is rendered by Obermiller as "neither of Indian, nor of Chinese descent" (Part 2, p. 173). The Tibetan text – which reads (in the Tun-huang version) *rgya-gar dang / rgya-ma-yin-ba / rgyal-po ched-po gsum* – is completely ambiguous, and admits of either translation. It is relevant, though certainly not decisive, that the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan takes this to mean "Indian and non-Indian" (*enedkeg kiged busu-ača*, lit. "from India and elsewhere"). No exact counterpart of this expression (which could help us to decide between these two alternatives) occurs in any other version of the Kauśāmbī story; the closest parallel is found in the *Prophecy of the Arhat of Khotan* (*Li-yul-gyi dgra-bcom-pas lung-bstan-pa*, Peking No. 5699), which reads "kings of the west and kings of the north, *Ya-ba-na* and so on" (*nub-phyogs-kyi rgyal-po dang / byang-phyogs-kyi rgyal-po ya-ba-na la-sogs-pa*). The choice of a translation of this phrase has important implications for the history of the text, since a recension referring to the three foreign kings as "neither Indian nor Chinese" could be suspected of having undergone Central Asian redaction.
12. The later xylograph editions regularly emend the name of the long-forgotten Parthians (Tib. *pa-la-ba*) to "Bactrian" (*ba-lhi-ka*), a reading also found in the Tibetan *Karma-śataka.*
13. For a discussion of this peculiar term (Tib. *sha-ku-na* and variants) see above, p. 64, n. 128 and p. 77, n. 148.
14. This passage provides an important geographical clue, suggesting that the redaction of this version of the *Candragarbha-sūtra* (or rather, of the Prakrit antecedent of the Tibetan) took place in the far northwest of India, possibly in Gandhāra. For further discussion see above, p. 65, n. 132.
15. Note the unusual position of this number, which precedes (rather than following) the term it modifies. For another example see above, p. 145, n. 6.
16. Note that these etymological translations of proper names appear only in the late xylograph editions (P1,P3,D,L), and that they appear *before* the transliterations have been sufficiently re-Sanskritized to allow for their independent derivation. For further discussion see above, pp. 149-153.

17. For a possible explanation of the transition from *Śisyaka* to **Śirṣaka* see above, pp. 66-67, n. 134.
18. Note the peculiar use of the word *saṃgha* (Tib. *dge-'dun*) in reference to individual monks, where one would rather expect the term *bhikṣu* (Tib. *dge-slong*), "monk." This is a fairly common usage in Old Tibetan texts; for numerous examples see the translations in Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, vol. 1. The same confusion occurs in Buddhist Chinese, where the term *seng* 僧 (A. Ch. ˛*səng* [K. no. 1047] < Skt./Pkt. *saṃgha*) serves as one of the usual terms for "monk."
19. The forms of the Skt. name *Sudhanaputra* in the Tun-huang and Narthang versions (which read *S.hu-dha-ra-sh.ha-na'i bu* and *Su-rad-sha-na'i bu*, respectively) are peculiar. Were it not for the complete agreement among all other versions of the text, which clearly go back to a Skt. or Pkt. original *Sudhana*(see Appendix 1, no. 6), one might suspect that the original Indian form was **Sudarśana*. Given the consensus of the other versions, however, what must be explained is how an original *Sudhana* became Tib. **Su-dar-sha-na* (the form which we may assume to underlie both the Tun-huang and the Narthang versions). No aural or visual error that could lead to such a shift is immediatley apparent. An intriguing parallel, however, is found in the Sogdian version of the *Vessantara-jātaka*, where the name *Sudhana* appears in the form *Swδ"šn* (presumably pronounced *Sudāšin*; see E. Benveniste, *Vessantara Jātaka. Texte sogdien édité, traduit et commenté* [Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1946], p. 6 and *passim*.). An appealing (if somewhat speculative) derivation is offered by N. Sims-Williams ("Indian Elements in Parthian and Sogdian," in Klaus Röhrborn and Wolfgang Veenker, eds., *Sprachen des Buddhismus in Zentralasien* [Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1983], pp. 132-141 [p. 139]), who derives the term from Skt. *Sudāna* (a form he does not explain, but which could be derived from an original *Sudhana* via an aural error) → Parthian **Suδāšin* (< Skt. *su-* "good" + Parthian *δāšin* "gift") → Sogdian *Swδ"šn*. To get from this Sogdian form to **Swδrš'n* (one of the forms which might underlie our Tibetan text) we need only note that Sogdian regularly exhibits an intrusive *r* in loan words from Sanskrit (or Prakrit); cf. the Sogdian forms *kwrty* (< Skt./Pkt. *koṭi*), *βrγr* (< Skt./Pkt. *vihāra*), and **k'rš'* (a form not attested in extant Sogdian texts, but found in Uighur in the spelling *karša*, presumably a loan word from a Sogdian original). If such a chain of transmission is implicated in the text with which we are concerned, this would suggest that Sogdian missionaries played a role in the transmission of the *Candragarbha* version of the Kauśāmbī story along the Silk Road, from whence it ultimately reached Tibet.
20. The day of the full moon, one of the two occasions per month when the monastic rules

are recited by the assembled community.

21. An erroneous translation of the name Aṅgada, "upper-arm bracelet," based on a borrowing from the *Karmaśataka*. For discussion see above, pp. 151-153.
22. The original form of the name I have reconstructed as **Kedāra* cannot be determined with certainty, but the numerous instances of confusion between *da* and *ra* in Tibetan texts (see for instance line 174 [n. 2, P1 reading] and line 179 [n. 1, P1 reading]) would suggest that in this instance it is the Tibetan form, and not the Chinese, which has undergone metathesis. For details see above, pp. 67-68, n. 35.
23. Note the apparently deliberate change from "mother" (in the older editions) to "father" (in the later xylograph copies).
24. The Tibetan term *ban-de* ~ *ban-dhe* is generally derived from Skt. *vandya* "praise-worthy, very venerable" (MW 919b), a practice apparently based on the testimony of "Hodgson's learned Nepalese authority" (Jä. 365b; the same derivation is given in Das 865a and Tucci, *Religions of Tibet*, p. 10, but without any attribution). A minority view is offered by R. A. Miller, who finds the antecedent of the term in "some form related to *paṇḍita*" (*Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet* [Amsterdam: John Benjamins B. V., 1976], p. 4). Jäschke also states that *ban-de* is the regular equivalent of Tib. *btsun-pa*, which however is equated in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (nos. 8702, 9220) not with *vandya*, but with Skt. *bhadanta* "a term of respect applied to a Buddhist, a Buddhist mendicant" (MW 745c; cf. *BHSD*, 405b). In this connection we might note the existence of the contracted form *bhante* "Sir, venerable sir" in Pāli, a term whose origins are somewhat controversial but which appears to be derived either from either *bhavanta* or *bhadanta* (*PTSD*, 498a). I am inclined to agree with the sole advocate of the derivation of Tib. *ban-de* from Skt. *bhadanta* (see Roerich, vyp. 6, p. 169a), though I would specify an intermediate Prakrit form resembling Pāli *bhante*. The term is used in Old Tibetan texts in the general sense of "monk, Buddhist cleric," and is so translated (for example) by H. E. Richardson (*A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions* [London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1985], p. 171).
25. The peculiar color of these Buddhist monastic robes – here described as black and red, not saffron-colored – could help us to localize the time and place of this redaction if detailed information on the color of monastic garments and their changes over the course of time were available. Red robes are of course standard for Buddhist monks in Tibet, as are black robes in China, yet we may not have to look so far afield. In the *Lotus Sutra*, for example, we find a reference to the preacher of the Dharma putting on "a clean, nice, red robe, dyed with good colours, and a black woollen garment" (Kern trans., p. 269 [Ch. 13, vs. 27]). (These colors are not mentioned in the Chinese

translation by Kumārajīva.) The reference to wool – certainly not a favored fabric on the Indian subcontinent – suggests that the passage in question was composed somewhere in the far northwest (Gandhāra and adjoining regions). A similar reference to red and black monastic garments occurs in the *Pad-ma thang-yig*, Book II, c. 2 (fol. 9b,2) according to Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts*, pp. 265-266.

26. Note that the king's death is mentioned only in the late xylograph editions – a clear example of editorial rationalization in progress. I have not translated the expression *zhal 'tshos-te* (P1, P3 *zhal mchos-te*), which has appeared as meaningless to my Tibetan informants as it does to me. This phrase occurs only in the late xylograph editions, and is not translated in the Mongolian version.

27. The meaning of this sentence (which occurs only in the late xylograph editions) is quite obscure. In accordance with the apparent literal meaning of the Tibetan, the Mongolian reads *labai-yi arčiγsan metü*, "as if one erased a conch shell." What this means, however, is not at all evident.

28. The six flavors, according to Indian tradition, are sweet (*madhura*), sour (*amla*), salty (*lavaṇa*), pungent (*kaṭuka*), bitter (*tikta*), and astringent (*kaṣaya*); see MW 869c, s.v. *rasa*.

CHAPTER 3. THE MONGOLIAN VERSION

INTRODUCTION

The text transcribed here is taken from the blockprint edition of the Mongolian KanJur kept in the Harvard-Yenching Library at Harvard University. The blocks for the Mongolian KanJur were carved in Peking in 1720;[1] it is not possible to determine with certainty the date of the printing of Harvard's copy of the text. No independent manuscript or blockprint version of the text is listed in any of the published catalogues of Mongolian collections. The present edition is based, therefore, solely on the Harvard xylograph. A manuscript copy of the same work is presumably included in the Leningrad manuscript KanJur;[2] it is my intention to examine this copy at a later date and to incorporate the results into a future study.

The text (catalogued as Ligeti No. 1120; vol. 92 [= Eldeb 33], 298v-305r) is included in the group of so-called "miscellaneous sutras" (Mo. *eldeb*; Tib. *mdo-mang* ~ *mdo-sde* ~ *mdo-sna-tshogs*). On the basis of the Tibetan, we may reconstruct an original Sanskrit title **Ārya-Candragarbha-paripṛcchā-sūtra*.. None of the extant Tibetan texts, however, includes a

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[1] On the production of the printed Mongolian KanJur see Louis Ligeti, *Catalogue du KanJur Mongol Imprimé, I. Catalogue* (Budapest: Société Kőrösi Csoma, 1942), pp. 333-344; and Walther Heissig, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Mongolischen Kandjur-Redaktion der Ligdan Khan-Zeit (1628-1629)," in *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag am 8. August 1957*, Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, vol. V (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957), pp. 71-87 (pp. 84-86).

[2] On the Leningrad manuscript KanJur see F. Weller, "Der gedruckte mongolische KanJur und die Leningrader Handschrift," *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), 309-431; and W. Heissig, *Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 50, 1962.

Sanskrit title, and we should therefore treat this reconstruction as provisional at best. Moreover, it is perhaps significant that the text is not included in the *paripṛcchā* section of the canon (a subsection of the sūtra division of the Kanǰur, comprising Ligeti nos. 904-929 in the Mongolian xylograph edition). Neither the Mongolian version of the text nor any of the manuscript or blockprint copies of the Tibetan includes a colophon. All of the comments given below concerning the date and provenance of the text are, therefore, based on internal evidence alone.

Orthography. The blockprint version of the text employs not only the standard Mongolian alphabet, but the full range of so-called *galig* letters as well. Thus the version of the text represented by the blockprint edition must be assigned to a date after the introduction of the *galig* letters by Ayusi guusi in 1587.[3] A number of the peculiar inconsistencies typical of the late classical period are seen here in the use of these letters; e.g. the use of c̱ instead of ǰ for an original Sanskrit *j*, the intermittent (and apparently purely ornamental) use of *ḏ* for an ordinary dental *d*, and the visual confusion (leading to copying errors) between such letters as *ge* and *ṣ* or *b* and *kh*. Numerous orthographic features of the text can be explained only with reference to the underlying Tibetan version; these instances are discussed in detail in the notes to the translation.

Grammar. With respect to grammatical features, the text can be placed squarely in the camp of standard classical Mongolian, with a small number of non-classical features reflecting the spoken language of a somewhat later period (e.g., the use of the dative/locative form *-tu/-du* where one would

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[3] For a discussion of these letters and the Sanskrit and Tibetan forms they represent see Appendix4, "The Mongolian *Ali Kali* Alphabet."

expect *-tur/-dur*, and the occasional confusion between the genitive *-u/-ü* and accusative *-i*, which probably reflects the use of the vowel *-i* in genitive suffixes in the modern dialects). No distinctive preclassical grammatical features are found, which suggests either that the original Mongolian translation was executed only during the late 16th century or after, or that if an older translation existed it was subsequently subjected to thorough revision.

Technical vocabulary. The Buddhist technical vocabulary employed in the text represents an interesting mixture of the Tibetan-based terminology (i.e., calques on Tibetan forms) typical of the classical language and older, Uighur-based loan words. In a number of cases we find what I have described as "partially re-Sanskritized" forms, terms whose Uighur antecedents are still evident but which contain orthographic or phonological modifications that could only have been derived from transcriptions of the underlying Sanskrit terms, presumably in Tibetan script. Thus we have the form *mahowaragi* (<< Skt. *mahoraga*) in a spelling derived from earlier (preclassical) *maqoragi* (< Uig., *id.*), but with the *q* changed to the *galig* letter *h* and the vowel *o* indicated by the combination *owa*, which serves in the *galig* script to distinguish *o* from *u*.

Style. The Mongolian text as we have it is in every respect a slavish imitation of a Tibetan original. Mongolian grammatical conventions have, on a number of occasions, been visibly subverted to match the structure of the Tibetan text, yielding a text which is at times awkward in expression and can occasionally be understood only with reference to the Tibetan. In this respect the text is typical of classical Mongolian translation literature.

Provenance. Lacking a colophon or the name of a Mongolian

translator, it is difficult to establish with certainty the region in which this translation might have been carried out. Nevertheless, at least one dialectal feature (the alternation of *e* with *i* in the forms *čerig* ~ *čireg* ~ *čirig* [passim.] and *ejileyü* for *ejeleyü* [line 95]) would lend support to the hypothesis that the text was translated, or at least copied, by someone familiar with one of the East Mongolian dialects, in which *e* is frequently replaced by *i*.

Ancestry of the text. There is no question that the Mongolian translation as we have it was based solely upon a Tibetan version. There is no evidence for any input from another source, and a number of peculiar errors in grammar, vocabulary, and orthography can only be explained with reference to a Tibetan original. Moreover, in the present case it is possible to determine the identity of the Tibetan original with relative certainty. A close examination of the spellings of proper names demonstrates that, of the Tibetan versions consulted in the preparation of this edition, the Mongolian generally agrees most closely with P3, a version printed from woodblocks carved in Peking and incorporating corrections made through the year 1720.[4] Where the Mongolian diverges from the reading found in P3, it agrees with P1 instead, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the closest match would be with the P2 edition, a printing incorporating only those corrections and emendations made through the year 1700.[5] In addition

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[4] On the versions of the Tibetan text see the introduction to Chapter 2, "The Tibetan Version."

[5] No printed copy of P2 is available, apparently, in the West. Information on its contents, organizational format, and date of printing are based on the reports of Sakai, who examined a copy of P2 at Wu-t'ai Shan, and Laufer, who examined a copy of the same version in Hsi-an. For the information provided by Sakai see Imaeda Yoshiro, "Mise au point concernant les éditions chinoises du Kanjur et du Tanjur tibétains," in *Essais sur l'art du Tibet* (Paris, 1977), pp. 23-51. For Laufer's account see Berthold Laufer, "Die Kanjur-Ausgabe des Kaisers K'ang-hsi," *Izvestija imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, 6th series, 3, no. 8 (May 1909), pp. 567-574; reprinted in Hartmut Walravens, ed., *Kleinere Schriften*

to the general correspondences with P3 with respect to proper names, there is one particularly striking instance in which the Mongolian agrees with P1 instead: of the seven copies of the Tibetan text that I have examined, only P1 omits the word *sngon*, "formerly," with which all other versions of the text (including the Tunhuang manuscript) begin. The Mongolian, like P1, lacks any equivalent of this expression. It is reasonable to suppose that this word was still lacking in the P2 edition, from which the Mongolian was probably translated (or revised), and that it was reinserted only during the correction cycle that resulted in the version known as P3.

As to the translation methods used by the unknown Mongolian translator(s), the available evidence would indicate that the work was based exclusively on a written text. There is no evidence of mistranslations of the sort that can result from the oral transmission of a Tibetan text (a language in which the richness of homophones makes possible a multiplicity of aural errors); mistakes that can be attributed to misreadings of written Tibetan letters, however, can easily be identified.[6] The translator's understanding of Tibetan grammar, however, seems to have had its limitations; in a number of cases, for example, the multivalent Tibetan nominal suffix *-pa/-ba* seems to have caused some confusion, being rendered in the Mongolian translation as an agent noun (which indeed is one of the uses of this suffix in Tibetan) rather than as an abstract verbal noun when the context requires the latter.[7] All in all, the quality of the translation suggests that the translator had only a

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von Berthold Laufer. Teil 1: Publikationen aus der Zeit von 1894 bis 1910, = Sinologica Coloniensia (Ostasiatische Beiträge der Universität zu Köln), Band 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1976), pp. 1352-1359.

[6] See for example notes 13 and 207 to the English translation of the Mongolian.

[7] See notes 49 and 111 to the English translation of the Mongolian.

moderate degree of fluency in classical Tibetan.

It is also possible to demonstrate that, as one would expect, the blockprint edition does not represent the original translation but is rather the product of a long process of textual transmission. Carving errors such as *ölke* for *nüke* (line 15), *ene* for *qan* (line 128), and *qoyin-a* for *qorin* (line 123) suggest that the text had already been recopied numerous times before it was finally carved in blockprint form. Thus a number of layers of errors must be discerned and accounted for: (1) misreadings of the Tibetan-script original; (2) misunderstandings of Tibetan grammar and vocabulary; (3) miscopyings (or miscarvings) of individual words in the Mongolian script; and (4) copyists' omissions or duplications, introduced when working from a Mongolian-script version.

Textual edition: methodology. The Mongolian text has been edited with the intention of facilitating comparison with the Tibetan. Thus the line numbers of the Mongolian are keyed to match the Tibetan text, a procedure that has resulted in certain lines being either shorter or longer than would normally be the case. Page numbers of the Mongolian xylograph edition itself are given within the text in parentheses.

In addition to the general textual editing symbols given in the Preface (p. xiv), the following conventions have been employed in transliteration.

n	indicates a dotted letter *n*
d	indicates the use of the Uighur letter *d* () in word-initial or word-final position
kh, c, etc.	(i.e., the underlining of any letter *except* n and d): indicates the use of *galig* letters representing those Sanskrit letters which are ordinarily romanized without diacritical marks;

galig letters representing letters written *with* diacritical marks (e.g., *ñ*, *ṃ*, etc.) are so transcribed, and are not underlined. The letter *h* ( ), whether used as part of a Sanskrit aspirated consonant or standing alone, is not subject to confusion with any non-*galig* letter, and so is not underlined in the transcription. For a complete chart of the *galig* letters and their transliteration equivalents see Appendix 4.

" (in subscript position) indicates a first-syllable front vowel carved as a back vowel

’ indicates a transcription of the Tibetan letter འ

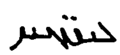
' when enclosed in angled brackets (< >), indicates an extraneous tooth in the Mongolian text, introduced as the result of a copying or carving error. Since the letter is in fact erroneous and should be removed, no attempt has been made to identify it as *a*, *e*, *n*, or part of a *d*, *t*, *q*, *γ*, etc.

Mongolian Text

Quturγ-tu Saran ǰirüken-ü öčigsen sudur-ača burqan-u šasin orosiqui kiged ebderekü̈i yosun-i wiwanggirid üǰügülügsen neretü:

ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Šakyamuni burqan Kharadi-rhag aγulan-u deger-e saγun bülüge ·:· tere čaγ-tur arban ǰüg-ün bowadhi-saduwa ma-ha-a-saduwa-nar<-un> nököd-lüge nigen-e dayini daruγsan tngri luus yagsas[a] gandari asuri kinari mahowaragi garudi čibil-tü simnu terigüten qamuγ yeke küčüten bügüdeger čiγuluγsan tere čaγ-tur ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Šakyamuni burqan-u niγur-daki anisq-a ǰaγur-a-yin lagšan-ača gerel γarču doron-a Buru-a-widiq-a emün-e Čambudwib örön-e Abar-a-godaniy-a umar-a Ut<ka>-t[a]r-a-kürü-e ner-e-ten ene dörben dwib-i gerel-iyer qamuγ-a<ča> tügemel bolγan talbiγad gerel-i talbiγsan tere učir Sümir aγula terigüten (299a) yeke aγula[s] kiged aγulas ba oi modun em-tü töküm aγula-yin ölke[b] subaγ qaγurqal bügüde-yi tegsi sačaγu bolγan geyigülǰü dörben dwib selte γar-un alaγan-dur adali todorqai-a üǰegdekü bolbai : tedeger gerel-eče eldeb öngge dürsü-tü kiged gerel-ten olangki burqan-u körög beyes γaruγad bowadhi-saduwa-nar kiged tngris[c] luus terigüten qotala amitan-a üǰegdeǰü yeke γayiqamsiγ anu bolbai ·:· tendeče ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Šakyamuni burqan-a Wayiširawani terigüten dörben yeke qad öčir-ün ·:· ene metü gerel yaγun-u tusa-yi üileddümü̈i :

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[a] carved as  . [b] error for *nüke*. [c] xyl. *tngres*.

kemen öčigsen-dür : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen ǰarliγ bolur-un : bi nirwan boluγsan qoyin-a dörben dwib-tur minu nomlaγsan degedü ǰarliγ nom-ud kiged : šaril körög beyes ene metü bolqu buyu [:] eden-i tan-u γar-tu[r] qatangγadqan ögsügei sakidqun [:] tendeče ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-dur Saran ǰirüken bowadhi-saduwa öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a ene metü yeke nigüleskü̈i-ber : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen nirwan boluγsan qoyin-a degedü nom-i maqaraaca-nuγud-tur qatangγadqan öggügči masi γayiqamsiγ[-tu] bolai : urida nögčigsen burqan nirwan bolǰu doloγan od bolqui-dur-iyan degedü nom-un öngge dürsü ečülbesü ele : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Šakyamuni nirwan boluγsan-u qoyin-a degedü nom-ud kedüi činegen boltala orosiqu bolumui : tendeče ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan ǰarliγ bolur-un : ene metü sesig-iyen öčigsen sayin : sayitur sonos : nomlasuγai bi : bi nirwan bolǰu degedü nom-un öngge dürsü anu (299b) qoyar mingγan od boltala orosiqu boluyu : Saran ǰirüken bowadhi-saduwa öčir-ün : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen a degedü nom-ud ečüs-tür kerkiǰü ečüdkü bolumui : yambar siltaγan-iyar ebderemüi : ken-ber ügegüi-e bolγamui : ǰarliγ bolur-un : bi nirwan boluγsan-u qoyin-a tabun ǰaγun od boltala minu šasin-iyar yabuγči amitan-nuγud-ača toniluγčin anu olan bolqu boluyu : tendeče tabun ǰaγun od boltala diyan-i bariqui-dur olan-da edlekü boluyu : qad noyad kiged düri amitan bügüdeger ber degedü nom-dur süsülüged yabuγči ber ǰiči basa čögen bolqu boluyu : tendeče tabun ǰaγun od boltala degedü nom-i üǰügülǰü amitan-i uduridduγad tonilγaγči baγsi-nar olan törömüi : sirawaγ-un arqad kemebesü čögen bolqu boluyu : qad noyad kiged düri amitan-nuγud ber sonosqu-yin tedüiken

bolǰu bisilγan abuγčin ba : kičiyegčin ügei boluγad süsüg baγuraqui bolumui : degedü nom-un sakiγulsun ber ülü taγalaqui bolun : degedü nom-dur ülü süsülügči amitan-nuγud kemebesü urida-ača auγ-a küčün öskü bolumui : C̲ambudwib-taki kümün-ü qan esergü tesergü nigen-nigen-te čirigleldüǰü ebdereldükü boluyu : simnus[a] iǰaγur-tan ber undurqu bolumui ·:· tendeče basa tabun ǰaγun-u γurban ǰaγun od bolqui-dur degedü nom-dur orosiγči tngri luus terigüten ·[·] sakiγulsun amitan ülü orosin qamiγ-a degedü nom-ud delgerebesü : tende<če> odqu boluyu : amitan nom-dur ülü süsülkü bolumui : < nom-iyar ülü süsülkü bolumui : > nom-iyar yabuγčid (300a) amitan ber nom-un törö yosuγar ülü yabun kičiyenggüi üčüken-ü tula siddhi-ten čögen bolumui : dörben öngge kiged dörben-eče boluγsan ber baγuran önör amtan terigüten ber [üčüken] bolǰu kümün aduγusun-dur ebedčin taγul kiged : ǰud turqan ber <nom-ud> bolqu boluyu : qoyar ǰaγun od-tur ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd ber nom-un yosuγar ülü yabun yirtinčü-yin asiγ olǰa ner-e aldar kiged-i eriged nigülesküi inu üčüken bolǰu šaγšabad-tur ülü orosiyu : degedü nom-i törö yosuγar üileddügčid-eče gem-i eriǰü maγusiyan ügülemüi : ed tawar kiged kereg ǰaraγ-ud buluyu ·:· yirtinčü-yin qaγan-u ǰarliγ-i sitüged qan törö-yi barimui : qaγan-u ǰarudasun elči bolǰu asiγ erin odumui : qan kiged qaračus-un törö-yi ebderegülküi yenggügen-i ügülen qudaldu aralǰi kiged asiγlan üileddümüi : arγ-a-yi eriǰü degedü nom-iyar yabuγčin ünen durabar sedkil-degen abču ülü yabumui : olangkin tasimaγai üges kiged edüged-ün qudal ǰasadaγ törö-yi ebdemüi ·:· tere čaγ-tur nom-i taγalaγči tngri luus bügüdeger kelkü ulus-un ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd [ene] metü yabuγči γaǰar-i gegeǰü ülü orosiγad simnu

[a] xyl. *sinmus*.

iǰaγur-tan terigülen nom-dur todqaridduγčid-un ǰüil bügüdeger tende ireged böke küčün inu öskü bolumui : qad noyad terigüten-ü süsüg inu baγuraγad buyan nigül-üd ülü qaγačaγul-un sedkin : degedü nom-i bertegülüged γurban erdenis-ün ed kiged (300B) quwaraγ-ud-un aγurasun-i edleǰü qulγaǰu buliyaγad nigül-eče ülü ǰayilamui : körög bey-e kiged suburγan-i ǰöb ǰöb ebdeǰü takil-un kereg ǰaraγ-ud-i baγuraγulumui : tere čaγ-tur degedü nom-iyar endegürel ügei yabuγči nigen nigen toyin kiged egel aγsan bügesü tegün-ü buyan-u tere γaǰar-un eteged qur-a usun čaγ-taγan oroγad tariyan ǰokiraǰu kümün bügüde čadqulang ebedčin taγul inu čögen bolǰu ǰirγaγči ulus ber nigen kedün bolumui : tere metü ese orosiγsan olangkin kemebesü ülü amuqui ǰobalang-ud kürtekü bolumui ·:· tere čaγ-tur enedkeg kiged busu-ača γurban yeke qaγan bolumui : γurban ali kemebesü Yau-a-n̲a : Ba-lhii-ka : Šakun̲-a ner-e-ten ede γurbaγula degedü nom-i ülü üileddün čirigleldüǰü bayilduγad örön-e kiged umar-a-yin olan ulus irgen-i baγulγaqu bolumui : tendeče tere ulus-daki suburγa süm-e terigüten-i ber ebdeǰü γal-iyar tüimerdeged quwaraγ-un[a] kereg ǰaraγ kiged γurban erdenis-ün ed terigüten-i ber buliyaγad samsiyaǰu ·:· ede γurban qad nigen-nigen-dür-iyen eldeb ǰüil-iyer kereldüged : γurbaγula-yin qan törö engkeǰikü ülü boluyu : tegün-ü qoyin-a tere qad eyeben nigedčü čirig-i quriyaγad : enedkeg-ün ulus Gangga mören-ü inadu kiǰaγar-daki <w>Gandar kiged Dumdadu ulus terigüten γaǰar-i buliyaǰu eǰileyü : tere čaγ-tur Gangga mören-ü čaγaγan-a emün-e-či eteged-ün oron-dur (301a) Kowa'u-šambi[b] neretü ulus-tur Mahindr-a-sin-a neretü qaγan-ača nigen köbegün töröryü : tegün-ü ner-e inu D̲usbr-a-sa-hasta kemegdekü bolumui : anisq-a-yin ǰaγur-a inu temür mengge-tü γar-un toqai-ača doroγsida

[a] xyl. *-ud.* [b] xyl. *Kowa'ḍ-šambi.*

čisun-iyar buduγsan nigen töröyü : tegün-lüge nigen čaγ-tur tere qaγan-u tabun ǰaγun noyad-ača ber tabun ǰaγun köbegün töröged : tere bügüde-yin γar-un buγuča [doroγsida] čisutu bolun töröyü : tere čaγ-tur qan-u aduγun-ača kelelen čidaγči nigen unaγ-a töröyü : qaγan kiged köbegün kelelen čidaγči unaγ-a törögsen-ü söni ber oγtarqui-ača čisun qur-a oroqu bolumui : Mahindr-a-sin-a qaγan tabun ǰöng bilig-tü nigen arsi ubadiy-a-dur minu nököd-ün köbegüked kiged : morin-ača eyimü γayiqamsiγ-tu töröged : čisun qur-a oroγči ede yaγun-u be*l*ge bolba kemen ügülebesü : arsi ügüler-ün : činu köbegün Cambudwib-un delekei-yi kümün-ü čisud-iyar ǰögedgekü bolumui : tegün-ü qoyin-a kögebün činu Čambudwib-tur yeke qaγan bolqu boluyu : kemen ügüleǰü : tere qan köbegün eng terigün töröged arban qoyar nasun nasulaqui čaγ-tur Yawan-a ba Ba-lhii-ka : Šakun-a ner-e-ten γurban qad qamtudču qaγan γučin tümen čirig-lüge nigen-e Mahindr-a-sin-a qaγan-u ulus-tur čireglеǰü : ulus-tur čerig-üd olan iregsen-iyer qaγan duran γutuǰu γasal-un saγuγsan-dur : Dusbr-a-sa-hasta köbegün ečige-ečegen asaγur-un [:] (301b) ečige minu a ene metü sedkil γutuγči yaγun-ača bolba : kemen öčigsen-dür : ečige ügüler-ün : γurban qaγan-u yeke čireg-üd bidan-u ulus-tur iregsen-ü tula sedkil manu γutumui : kemen ügülebesü köbegün ügüler-ün : ečige minu a sedkil-iyen buu γut[u]dqun [:] ene čerig-i bi ber čidaqu buyu kemen ügüleküi-dür ečige anu ügüler-ün : sayin kemen ügüleged köbegün-lüge noyad-un γayiqamsiγ-tu tabun ǰaγun köbegün-i terigülen qorin[a] tümen čerig-üd-lüge nigen-e ǰaruǰu kereldüküi čaγ-tur : anisq-a-yin ǰaγuraki

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[a] xyl. *qoyin-a.*

temür mengge inu ösüged bükü bey-e inu temür bolǰu asuru ayimasču esergülekü-i-dür Dusbr-a-sa-hasta-yin čirig dayilaǰu[a] : ǰiči qariγsan-dur ečige anu ügüler-ün : köbegün a či ene metü γurban qaγan-u čirig-lüge bayilduǰu darubai : egün-eče qoyinaγsida qan[b] oron-i minu či bari : bi büged γarsuγai kemen soyun ügüleǰü qan oron-i köbegün-degen ögbei : tendeče arban qoyar od boltala γurban qaγan-u čerig-lüge bayilduγsan-iyar čerig-ün noyad-i ber čöm ečülgeged γurban qaγan-i ber bariǰu ügei bolγabai : tegün-eče qoyinaγsida Čambudwib-un yeke qaγan anu boluγu ·:· tendeče qaγan noyad-tur ügüler-ün : edüge Čambudwib-un yeke qaγan bolqu-yi taγalan bügetele öber-e nigen<-e> ülü taγalaγči ber amui kemen ügülegsen-dür noyad ügüler-ün : yaγun-i ülü taγalamui kemen (302a) öčibesü : edüi toγ-a-tan olan amitan-i kiduγsan-iyar yeke nigül-ün tula ülü taγalamui : bi ene metü nigül-i kerkibesü aril[γa]qu bolumui : kemen ügülegsen-dür noyad öčir-ün : Ulaγan köbegün-tü kemer-ün

Bidali-butr-a neretü ulus-tur nom-un ubadiy-a γurban sang nom-dur mergen boluγsan :

biraman Agni-tati-butr-a büged Γal-ača ögtegsen köbegün kemegdekü-i bolai : ner-e inu

Šiṣuga büged : Titsi-tü kemegdekü nigen toyin aranyatan oron-dur orosin aǰuγu [:] tegün-i[c]

küreǰü iregülüged takil kündülel-i üiledbesü nigül kilinčes-i arilγan čidaqu kemen öčigsen-dür qaγan ber bayasču Šiṣuka ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-i ber oroγul-un ilegegsen-dür qaγan-u dergede irebei :

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[a] xyl. *dayilǰu.* [b] xyl. *ene.* [c] xyl. *-ü.*

tendeče Šiṣuka ubadiy-a-dur qaγan mörgüged ubadiy-a minu üileddügsen
nigül kilinčes-i bügüde kerkibesü aril[γa]qu bolumui : kemen
öčibesü ügüler-ün : yeke qaγan a γurban erdenis-i arban qoyar
od boltala takiγad itegel yabuγulbasu ber nigül kilinčes arilqu boluyu : kemen ügülegsen-dür :
tendeče Ḍusbr-a-sa-hasta qaγan arban ǰüg-üd-tür olan elčid-i ǰaruγad
C̱ambudwib-taki qamuγ ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd-i uriǰu C̱ambudwib-tur büküü qamuγ ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd čöm ireged Gangga mören-ü
činadu Kowa'u-šambi ulus Ḍusbr-a-sa-hasta qaγan-u oron qamiγ-a bükü tende čiγuluγsan-iyar
C̱ambudwib-un busu ulus-tur nom-i üileddügči kiged : ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd ügei bolumui :
ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd-i (302b) čiγuluγsan tere čaγ-tur tergegür-tür olan ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd qoor qomsa bolǰu samsi<ya>γad
qaγan-u qarsi-dur arban tümen-ü tedüi kürkü bolumui :
ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd tergegür-tür samsiǰu qoroγčin ber eldeb ariyatan
kiged : ǰerlig kümün usun terigüten-e olangki inu erüsteǰü qoor qomsa
bolumui : olan quwaraγ-ud kürüged qaγan takil qurim-i ögčü
kereg ǰaraγ-ud bariγad takibai : tere čaγ-tur ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd
nigen-nigen-degen ügüleldür-ün : tan-u baγsi ali [:] titsi-ner qamiγ-a
ǰorčiba : adali šaγšabad-tan nökör ali kemen öber-e öber-e
ügüleldügsen-dür : bars arslan kiged ǰerlig kümün-e alaγdaγsan :
usun-a erüstegsen : ebedčin kürteǰü ükügsen terigüten<-e> üges-i
ügüleǰü bür-ün : ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd tus-tus-ača γasiγudan ukilaγad
ebčigüben deleddüyü : tendeče tere čaγ-tur qaγan buu γasaludqun
buu ukiladqun kemen ügülebesü : quwaraγ-ud ese boluγsan-dur
qaγan ber duran inu γutuǰu esergü qanduǰu kebtemüi [:]

kebteküi čaγ-tur qutuγ γuyur-un : budgalis-un quwaraγ-ud-tur
itegel yabuγulǰu takil üileddüged bügetele arqad-un gegen [niγur]-i
    ese üǰebesü : bi edüge nigen arqad-un gegegen niγur-i
üǰekü minu boltuγai : kemen qutuγ γuyuγsan-dur yirtinčü-yin
nigen tngri ǰegüdün-dür iru-a ǰaγaǰu öggür-ün Küǰi-yin önör-tü
    kemer-ün Gan̲d̦ha-ma-a-d̦a-[na] neretü aγulan-dur
Sayin ed-tü sartawaki-yin köbegün kemer-ün Sud̦ha-n̲a-butr-a-
    ra-rma[a]-ša < kemekü
kiged (303a) rašan > kemekü ču neretü toyin boluγad :
Amurlingγui kemer-ün Sur[a]ta kemen ner-e ögtegsen arqad-un ür-e-yi
    oluγsan nigen saγun amui [:]
tegün-i küreǰü iregülüged ergün kündülen üiledčü : tegün-dür nigül
    kilinče[s]-iyen namančilabasu nigül kilinče ču aril-un
sesig-eče qaγačaqu boluyu : kemen tngri ǰiγaǰu öggügsen-i ǰegüdüleged
qaγan sereǰü darui deger-e elči ǰaruγad Küǰi-yin önör-tü aγulan-ača
Surata arqad-i küreged qaγan-u qarsi-dur irebesü :
qaγan ber törö yosuγar mörgüǰü takiγad ergün kündüle*bei* :
tere čaγ-tur sin-e-yin arban dörben-ü söni qamuγ quwaraγ-ud
čiγuluγsan-u dotor-a-ača sin-e oroldaγsan ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd
γurban sang nom-i medegči Sișy-a-ka[b] ubadiy-a-dur bratimogs-a-yi[c]
    ungsituγai kemen öčigsen-dür
Sișy-a-ka ügüler-ün : nidün soqor boluγad qabar čikin ügei kümün-e
toli yaγun kereg üǰebesü ber yaγun tusa [:] winai-yi nomlabasu ber winai-

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[a] for *-tna-*; error due to the misreading of Tib. ཏྣ as རྨ (see line 173 of the Tibetan text and note 207 to the English translation of the Mongolian). [b] xyl. *Sigey-a-ka* (double dot omitted in carving of *ș*). [c] xyl. *bratamogs-a-yi.*

yin yosuγar ülü yabumui ta : šaγšabad ülü sakiγči-dur winai-yi nomlabasu ber yaγun tusa kemen ügülegsen-dür tere čaγ-tur Surata neretü arqad arslan-u daγun-i γarγaǰu ügüler-ün : bi ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-u šaγšabad-i abuγsan-ača edüged-tür kürtele ebesün-ü üǰügür-ün tedüiken ber ese ebdereǰü bügetele eyin kemen [ülü] ügülen bratimogs-a-yi ungsituγai kemen ügülegsen-dür : Šiṣy-a-ka ubadiy-a ber arqad aǰuγu kemen taniγad masida emiyeǰü *yaγun* ba ülü ügüleküi-dür : (303b) Šiṣüka-yin titsi[a] anu Ömög-ün čiγulγan ayuγumsiγ-tu kemer-ün : Aṃ-ga-ḍa neretü ayaγ-q-a tegimlig tere čiγuluγsan nöküd-ün dotor-a-ača bosuγad : Surata neretü tere arqad-tur či minu ubadiy-a-dur teyin kemen yakin ügülemüi : čim-a-da šaγšabad ber ügei winay-a-yi ber ülü medemüi : minu ubadiy-a γurban sang nom-dur mergen bügetele tegün-dür yakin qariqu ügülemüi : kemen ayimasču qaγalγ-a [-yin onisu] abuγad tere arqad-i deledčü alayu : tere čaγ-tur nom-i taγalaγči Dirga-müka kemekü neretü yagsas-a γar-taγan wčir bariǰu iledte ireged : Aṃ-ga-ḍa ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-tür arqad-i yakin alabai : kemen ügüleged wčir γarγaǰu alayu : tere čaγ-tur Girad̲ neretü ayaγ-q-a tegimlig Šiṣy-a-ka ubadiy-a-yi ǰančiǰu alamui : tendeče tegün-ü qoyin-a quwaraγ-ud čöm ebdereldüǰü nigen-nigen-iyen alaγad nigeken ber ülü üleyü ·:· tere čaγ-tur oγtarqui-ača tngri luus terigüten olangki-<da> nom-un sakiγulsun qorosču bür-ün : ukilalduγsad nilbusun inu čisun kiged γal-un qur-a oromui : oγtarqui-nuγud inu sir-a qar-a boluγad : kilbelgen kiged yeke daγun γaruγad D̲huma-kitu neretü odun-u bey-e-deče qar-a unin-i talbiγsan nigen γarču tegüber odud kiged saran terigüten-ü gerel ügei bolun :

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[a] xyl. *tiusi.*

nigeken ber ülü üǰegdeküi bolumui : tere čaγ-tur γučin γurban tngri-ner kiged : May-a-d̲i-bii eke terigüten olangkin nököd tende ireǰü : quwaraγ-ud-un buduγ-tu (304a) qubčad-i čöm quriyaǰu abču odqui bolumui : tere čaγ-tur *qaγan* ene metü qayiilalduqu yeke daγun siγun yaγun-ača bolba kemen ügülegsen-dür quwaraγ-ud ebdereldüǰü nigen-nigen-iyen alalduqu bolǰuqui kemen öčibesü qaγan duran inu γutuǰu bosuγad manaγar erte qota-yin γadaγadu süm-e-dür odbasu : quwaraγ-ud-un nigen nigen inu terigün-i oγtaldaγad : nigen nigen inu nidun-i γarγan : nigen nigen inu γar köl inu oγtaldaγsad kiged tere metü eldebčilen ükügsen-i üǰeǰü : arqad kiged γurban sang nom-i medegči Šiṣy-a-ka ubadiy-a-yin kegür-i eriǰü qoyar büri-yin kegür inu oldaγsan-dur : baraγun ǰegün suγun-dur-iyan talbiǰu[a] arqad kemebesü ečige minu bülüge : Šiṣy-a-ka kemebesü nom-un sang minu bülüge : ede qoyar nögčigsen-iyer egün-eče qoyinaγsida bi amin bey-e-ben ču ülü qayiralamui : qan oron-iyan ken kereglebesü ögsügei kemen ügüleged nidun ber balai bolǰu ülü üǰekü bolumui ·:· tere *čaγ*-tur noyad bügüdeger qaγan-iyan örüsiyeǰü : γasalang inu sergügekü-yin tula<'>da tabun ǰaγun kümün-i bandi metü ǰasaǰu : saqal üsüd-i düilbesü kirγaγur-iyar ülü daγaγdaǰu : saqal üsün inu γal-iyar quyiqalaǰu : ǰaγun ǰüil öngge-ten buduγ-ud ber tere učir-tur ariluγsan-u tula tabun ǰaγun bandi-nar-tur karš-a degel ugei boldaǰu : qar-a ulaγan aduγusun-u[b] arasun-i emüskeǰü : bandi metü ǰasaγad qaγan-u dergede : [sic] (304B) iregülüged : noyad inu qaγan-dur tabun ǰaγun bandi-nar ireǰü : [sic] amui kemen öčibesü : qaγan bayasču nidün-iyen

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[a] xyl. *talbaǰu.* [b] xyl. *aduγusun-i.*

qaran negeǰü bandi-nar-i sinǰilebesü bandi-nar ber čöm aduγusun-u arasun-i nemürüged saqal üsün-iyen ese düilǰü γal-iyar quyiqalaγsan-i ese üǰeged qaγan ber bayasču : γurban erdenis-tür takiqui kereg ǰaraγ-ud-i öggügtün kemen ügüleǰü : tedeger bandi-nar-i takiγad bandi-nar-i narin-a sinǰilen unubasu : aduγusun-u arasun-iyar karš-a degel emüsüged : saqal üsün-iyen ese düilǰü γal-iyar quyiqalaγsan-i todorqai-a qaγan üǰer-ün : öber-iyen saγar sesig-tü boluγad ede kemebesü ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd busu aǰuγu : teyin bügesü ber edüi tedüiken asaγsuγai bi : kemen sedkiǰü bür-ün : ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-ün üǰel kiged : šaγšabad inu ali[a] bui kemen asaγbasu tede bügüde-eče nigen nigen ber ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-ün[b] üǰel kiged šaγšabad-luγ-a törö yabudal-i üčüken ču ülü medegči-yin tula qaγan-dur qariqu üge-yi ülü ügülen sam saγuγsan-dur qaγan-iyar[c] sedkir-ün edüge kemebesü burqan-u sasin ečülüged : γurban erdenis-ün törö inu ünen-iyer tasuraγsan aǰuγu kemen sedkiǰü bür-ün qaγan ber yeke γasalang ködelǰü ukilaqu bolbai ·[·] tendeče tere qaγan ber olangki bandi-nar čakilalduǰu ükügsed-ün kegür-i inu abču tüyimeriddüged takil üiledčü · [·] tegün-ü qoyin-a mön qaγan ber sasin-i ečülügsen-ü (305a) γasiγutu sedkil-iyer aǰu nögčimüi ·:· tere čaγ-tur tere učir-tur Čambudwib-daki degedü nom-ud čöm ečülüged : ǰarliγ nom-un üsüg-üd ber labai-yi arčiγsan metü üǰebesü ülü üǰegdekü bolumui : altan inu mönggün bolumui : mönggün inu ǰan temür bolumui : ǰan kiged temür inu čilaγun bolumui : erdeni kiged subud anu eber bolumui : ǰirγuγan ǰüil amtatu idegen-eče amtan ügei isküleng dabusu-tu terigüten inu ečülüged :

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[a] xyl. *ṉali.* [b] xyl. *-üd.* [c] xyl. *-iyan.*

γasiγun ekegün qoyar amtan qočurumui :
ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen Sakyamuni burqan-dur
qutuγ-tu Saran ǰirüken-ü öčigsen sudur-ača
burqan nirwan bolǰu : sasin orosiqui kiged : ebderekü̈i yosun-i
wiwanggirid üǰügülügsen učir inu tegüsbei ·:· : ·:·

English Translation of the Mongolian Version

The [Section] Called "The Prophecy[1] [Concerning] the Way the Teaching[2] of the Buddha[3] Will Endure and Be Destroyed," from the *Noble Sutra*[4] *Requested*[5] *by*[6] *Candragarbha* (Skt.**Āryacandragarbhaparipṛcchā-sūtra*).[7]

[Formerly[8]] the Lord[9] Śākyamuni Buddha was staying on Khadiraka[11] mountain. At that time, when[11] all the great-powered ones – the *bodhisattva-mahāsattvas*[12] of the ten directions together with their retinues;[13] *arhat*[s],[14] god[s],[15] *nāgas*,[16] *yakṣas*,[17] *gandharva*[s],[18] *asura*[s],[19] *kiṃnara*[s],[20] *mahoraga*[s],[21] *garuḍa* [s],[22] sinful *Māra*[23] and the rest – had all assembled, from the mark[24] between the eyebrows on the face of the Lord Śākyamuni Buddha there came forth a light, and it placed these four continents[25] – called Pūrvavideha[26] in the East, Jambudvīpa[27] in the South, Aparagodānīya[28] in the West, and Uttarakuru[29] in the North – [in such a way that it] caused [them] to become more entire than anything[30] with light. On that occasion, when [the Buddha] released the light, Mt. Sumeru[31] and the rest of the great mountain[s],[32] as well as mountains and woods, medicinal hollows,[33] the sunny side[s][34] of mountains, and ravines [hend.],[35] all of them it caused to be equally illuminated, and the four continents together became clearly visible, as if [they were] in the palm of [one's] hand. From those [rays of] light there emerged a host[36] of Buddha-forms,[37] luminous and of various colors and shapes. And being visible to all living beings – *bodhisattvas* as well as gods, *nāgas* and the rest – [they] became a great wonder.

Then the four great kings – Vaiśravaṇa[38] and the rest – spoke to the Lord Śākyamuni Buddha[39] as follows[40]: "What good[41] does a ray of

light like this do[42]? " And when they had spoken thus, the Lord spoke as follows: "After I have attained nirvana,[43] in the four continents the exalted Dharma-words[44] I have preached as well as my relics[45] [and] images[46] will become like this [i.e., will be dispersed throughout the world]. These I will commit[47] into your hands.[48] Protect [them]!"

Then the bodhisattva Candragarbha spoke to the Lord Buddha as follows: "O Lord, by virtue of such great compassion as this, after the Lord has attained nirvana, one who commits[49] the exalted Dharma to the *mahārājas*[50] is very wonder[ful].[51] If, when the Buddha[s][52] who have passed on before attained nirvana, the form[53] of the exalted Dharma came to an end when seven years had passed, for how long[54] will the exalted Dharmas[55] remain after the Lord Śākyamuni has attained nirvana?" Then the Lord Buddha spoke as follows: "It is good that [you] have asked concerning your doubt[s][56] in this fashion. Listen well, [and] I will preach [to you]. [After] I have attained nirvana, the form of the exalted Dharma will endure until two thousand years have passed."[57] The bodhisattva Candragarbha spoke as follows: "O Lord, how will the exalted Dharmas[58] finally be brought to an end? For what reason will they decline? And who will cause them to be annihilated?"

[The Lord] spoke as follows: "After I have attained nirvana, until five hundred years have passed, of those beings who act in accordance with my teaching, many will be liberated. Then, until [another] five hundred years have passed, in the holding of meditation[59] [they] will make use of it greatly.[60] [Then,] as to all the kings [and] ministers as well as ordinary living beings,[61] those who conduct themselves having believed in the exalted Dharma will later become few."

Then, until [another] five hundred years have passed, many liberator-teachers will be born, having taught the exalted Dharma and led[62] living

beings. [But] as to *śrāvaka*-arhats,[63] they shall become few. As for kings and ministers, as well as ordinary living beings, those who so much as listen [to the Dharma] and accept it with reverence, or [become] ones who exert themselves, will disappear, and faith[64] will diminish. The protectors[65] of the exalted Dharma will be displeased, and as to those those living beings who do not have faith in the exalted Dharma, [their] might and power will become greater than before. The kings of the people of Jambudvīpa[66] will lead armies against one another and will destroy one another. [And] those of devil-origins[67] will increase.

Then again, during the [first] three hundred years of the [next] five hundred [-year period], the protector-beings – gods, *nāgas* and the rest – who dwell in the exalted Dharma will not remain, but where the exalted Dharmas[68] are spreading, there[69] they will go. Living beings will come not to have faith in the Dharma. < [They] will come not to have faith according to the Dharma.[70]> Even those living beings who do act according to the Dharma will not act in accordance with the rule of Dharma;[71] and because the effort [they make] is small, those who possess the *siddhis*[72] will become few. The four colors[73] as well as [the colors] formed from the four will diminish, and scent, taste and the rest will become [small].[74] And people and animals will experience[75] illness [hend.][76] and famine [hend.].[77]

During the [final] two hundred years, even monks[78] will not act in accordance with the Dharma, [but rather] will seek worldly profit [hend.][79] as well as[80] fame [hend.].[81] Their compassion will become small, and they will not dwell in the *śīkṣapādas*.[82] Looking for faults in those who practice the exalted Dharma according to tradition,[83] and they will speak ill of them. They will steal [their] goods [hend.][84] and property [hend.].[85] Relying on the command[86] of worldly king[s], they will grasp

[at] temporal power.[87] They will become messengers [hend.][88] of the king, and will go about seeking profit. They will pronounce invective[89] that destroys the order[90] of king and commoners,[91] and will engage in profiteering in trade and commerce.[92] Searching for [devious] means, [even] those who act according to the exalted Dharma will not do so having taken [the Dharma] to heart in accordance with [one's] true desire.[93] [Their] many[94] flattering words as well as immediate[95] lies and deceit will destroy the [political] order.[96]

At that time all the gods and *nāgas* who delight in the Dharma will abandon the place where the monks of the entire[97] country act like [this],[98] and will not remain [there]; [but] all types of obstructors of the Dharma – those of devil-origins and so on – will come there, and their strength and power will increase. The faith of the kings and ministers will diminish, and they will not distinguish in their minds[99] between merit[100] and sins, [but] will cause harm to the exalted Dharma. And having made use of, pillaged, and robbed the goods of the Three Jewels[101] as well as the materials[102] of the *saṃghas*,[103] they will not shrink from sin. They will certainly[104] destroy image[s][105] and stūpa[s],[106] and will cause the goods [used for] worship to diminish.

At that time, if there have been a few monks as well as laymen who act faultlessly according to the exalted Dharma, [in] the direction of that place of their merit,[107] rain [hend.][108] will fall at its [proper] time, and the harvest will be good; and the people all [being] satiated,[109] illnesses [hend.][110] will be few, and there will be a few happy[111] countries. But as to the many[112] who have not remained[113] like that, [they] will experience[114] unrelieved sufferings.

At that time, from India[115] as well as elsewhere[116] there will come into being three great kings. If one asks which the three [are], [they are]

named Yavana ('Greek'), Balhika ('Bactrian'), [and] Śakuna ('Saka'),[117] [and] these three[118] will not practice the exalted Dharma. Having made war and fought against one another, [they] will subdue many kingdoms[119] of the west as well as the north. Then, having destroyed the stupa[s], temple[s] and so on in those country[s] and having set them afire,[120] and having stolen the property [hend.] of the *saṃgha*[121] as well as the goods of the Three Jewels and so on, they will wipe them out.[122] These three kings[123] having fought[124] with one another in various ways,[125] the kingdoms of the three of them will not be peaceful.

After that, having united their counsel[126] and gathered [their] armies,[127] those kings will pillage and take control of[128] the land[s] of India [which are] places such as Gandhāra[129] and Madhyadeśa[130] on this side of the Ganges River.[131] At that time, in a country named Kauśāmbī[132] at a place on the on the other,[133] southern side[134] of the Ganges River, to a king named Mahendrasena[135] a son will be born. [And] his name shall be called Duṣprasahasta.[136] [He will be born as] one who has an iron mark between [his] eyebrows[137] [and] who is stained with blood from the elbow of [his] arm[s] downward. At the same time as that, to the five hundred ministers of that king there will be born five hundred sons; and they will be born having blood [downwards fr]om the wrist[138] of the arm[s] of all of them. [And] at that time, to the king's horse[139] there will be born a foal who is able to speak.[140] As for the night when the king['s son and the ministers' sons] as well as the foal who is able to speak are born, a rain [of] blood will fall from the sky. When King Mahendrasena speaks to a a sage-preceptor[141] possessed of the five supernatural insights,[142] saying "The little sons[143] of my companions[144] as well as such a marvelous [foal][145] having been born from [my] horse, [and now] the falling of a rain [of] blood – of what are these the omen[s]?"

The sage spoke as follows: "Your son will soak[146] the [entire] world of Jambudvīpa with human blood.[147] After that, your son will become the great king in Jambudvīpa." [So] saying, he spoke.[148]

That prince first of all[149] having been born, at the time when he had reached the age of twelve, the three kings named Yavana[150] and Balhika [and] Śakuna joined together, and the king[s], together with 300,000 troops, invaded the country of King Mahendrasena. By virtue of [these] many troops[151] having come into the country the king was despondent,[152] and when he was sitting and grieving, [his] son Duṣprasahasta asked[153] his father as follows: "O my father, such despondency[154] as this – from what has it come about?" [And] when he spoke saying [that], [his] father spoke as follows: "Because of the coming of the armies of the three kings into our country, I am despondent."[155] When he spoke saying [that], [his] son spoke as follows: "O my father, do not be despondent! I can defeat[156] [their] armies." Upon his saying [that], [his] father spoke as follows: "Good." [And] when he had spoken saying [that], when along with the son [he] dispatched the five hundred miraculous sons of the ministers and so on,[157] together with 200,000 troops,[158] at the time when they were engaged in combat, the iron mark between the eyebrows [of the prince] grew [large,] and his entire body turned to iron; and becoming very angry, when he fought [with the enemy] Duṣprasahasta's army was victorious.[159] And when [they] returned, [his] father spoke as follows: "O [my] son, in this way you have fought with and conquered the armies of the three kings. From now on, you take over my kingdom.[160] As for[161] me, I shall go forth,"[162] and so speaking,[163] he gave[164] the kingdom to his son. Then, by fighting with the army of the three kings for twelve years, [the prince] completely annihilated the officers of the [opposing] army; and siezing the three kings, he put them to death.[165]

[And] from then on, he will be the great king of Jambudvīpa.

Then the king will speak to the ministers as follows: "Now I am happy at becoming the great king of Jambudvīpa; yet there is one thing that [I] am unhappy [about]."[166] [And] when he had spoken saying [that], the ministers spoke as follows: "What is it that [you] are unhappy [about]?" [And] when they had spoken saying [that],[167] [the king replied] "I am unhappy because of the great sin [I have comitted by] of having slaughtered [so] many living beings, as numerous as this.[168] How shall I purify[169] a sin such as this?" [And] when he had spoken saying [that], the ministers spoke as follows: "In the country named Pāṭaliputra,[170] that is to say,[171] ‹Possessing a Red Son,›[172] there is a brahman called Agnidattaputra,[173] that is, ‹Fire-given Son,› a Dharma-preceptor who has become learned in the three *piṭakas*.[174] His name is called Śiṣyaka,[175] that is, ‹Possessing Students,›[176] [and he is] a monk dwelling in a remote[177] place. If you invite[178] him to come, and do homage [and] reverence [to him,] he will be able to purify [your] sins [hend.]."[179] [And] when they had spoken thus, the king rejoiced, and when he summoned the monk Śiṣyaka to enter [his kingdom], [Śiṣyaka] came before the king.

Then, the king having done homage to Śiṣuka the preceptor, [he will say to him], "Preceptor, how shall [I] purify[180] all these sins [hend.] I have committed?" [And] when he speaks saying [that], [the preceptor] will speak as follows: "O great king, if you you worship the Three Jewels and take refuge[181] [in them] for twelve years, [your] sins [hend.] will be purified." [And] when he has spoken saying [that], then King Duṣprasahasta having sent many envoys to the ten directions [and will] summon all the monks in Jambudvīpa.[182] And because all the monks in Jambudvīpa will come and assemble there where[183] the place of King Duṣprasahasta[184] is, [that is,] the country of Kauśāmbī on the other side of

the Ganges River, the other countries of Jambudvīpa will become devoid of practitioners of the Dharma as well as of monks.

At that time, when the monks[185] have assembled [there], many monks will have been harmed [hend.][186] and wiped out[187] along the road, and only one hundred thousand [of them] will arrive at the palace[188] of the king. As to the monks who are wiped out and harmed along the way, many of them will be siezed and harmed by various wild animals[189] as well as human savages,[190] water and so on. [But] many *saṃghas*[191] [nonetheless] having arrived, the king will offer a religious feast, and taking the necessities [for worship], he did homage [to them].[192]

At that time the monks will speak to one another as follows: "Who[193] is your teacher?[194] Where have [your] disciples gone? Who[195] are your companions who share the same precepts?" And when they thus speak individually to one another, when they speak words [to the effect that they] have been killed by tigers and lions as well as human savages, carried off by water, or suffered illness and died, and so forth – the monks each[196] having wept bitterly, [they] will beat their breasts. Then at that time when the king says "Do not be distressed! Do not weep!" the *saṃghas*[197] will not comply,[198] and the king will be cast down. And turning away, he will lie down.[199]

At the time when he is lying down he will pronounce the following prayer:[200] "If I do not see the face[201] of an arhat while having worshipped and gone for refuge in these [ordinary] human *saṃghas*,[202] now let me see the face of an arhat!" And when he has pronounced that prayer, a god of [this] world will show[203] him a sign in a dream, as follows: "On a mountain named Gandhamāda[na][204] (that is to say,[205] ‘Possessing the Scent of Incense’[206]) is dwelling [a person] named Sudhanaputra<ratnaša>[207] (that is to say, ‘Son of the Merchant[208]

"Possessing Good Goods"), who having become a monk was given the name Sūrata (that is to say, 'Serenity') and is one who has attained the fruit of arhat[ship]. If, having invited him and caused him to come, you respect and honor him and confess your sin[s] [hend.] to him, the sin[s] [hend.] will be purified and [you] will be freed from doubt." And when he has dreamed that the god had instructed him, the king awoke and straightaway sent out a messenger, and having invited the arhat Sūrata from "Possessing the Scent of Incense" mountain, when [the arhat] came to the king's palace the king properly bowed and did homage to him, and respected and honored [him].

At that time, on the evening of the full moon,[209] when from among all the assembled saṃghas [some] newly entered monks said to the *tripiṭaka*-knower, the preceptor Śiṣyaka, "Please read[210] the *Prātimokṣa*!", Śiṣyaka will speak as follows: "To a person who, [his] eye[s] having become blind, is without nose and ears, what need [is there for] a mirror? If [he] looks, what use [will it be]? Even if [I] preach the Vinaya, you will not act in accordance with the Vinaya. Even if [I] preach the Vinaya to those who do not keep[211] the *śikṣapādas*, what use [will it be]?" When he spoke thus, at that time the arhat named Sūrata, sounding forth a lion's roar, will speak as follows: "Inasmuch as since I [first] took the *śikṣapādas* of the Lord Buddha until now,[212] I have not destroyed so much as a blade of grass, do not[213] speak this way. Read[214] the *Prātimokṣa*!" When he speaks thus, the preceptor Śiṣyaka, having recognized that [Sūrata] was an arhat, will be greatly afraid, and will not say a thing. Thereupon Śiṣyaka's disciple, a monk named Aṅgada (that is to say, 'Army the Fearful'[215]) will arise from among the assembled retinues and, reproaching that arhat named Sūrata [saying] "How can you speak to my preceptor that way? You[216] don't possess the precepts, and

[you] don't know the Vinaya. Inasmuch as my preceptor is learned in the *tripiṭaka*, how do you [dare even to] reply to him?", having taken a door-bolt[217] he will strike and kill that arhat.

At that time a Dharma-loving yakṣa named[218] Dirghamukha,[219] having appeared[220] wielding a vajra in his hand and having said to the monk Aṅgada "How could [you] have killed an arhat?", will bring forth the vajra and kill [him]. At that time a monk named *Kerāda[221] will strike Śiṣyaka the preceptor and kill [him]. Then after that the saṃghas all having destroyed and killed one another, not a single one will remain. At that time, from the sky – the many[222] Dharma-protectors (gods, *nāgas* and the rest) being upset – the tears they have wept[223] will fall [as] a rain of blood and fire. And the heavens having become yellow [and] black, and a flash as well as a great noise having come forth, from within the body of a star named Dhumaketu[224] one who has placed black smoke will come forth,[225] and thereby the light of the stars as well as the moon and the rest will disappear, and not a single one will be visible. At that time the many retinues – the thirty-three gods as well as mother Māyādevī and the rest – will come there, and gathering up all the dyed garments[226] of the *saṃghas*, will carry them off.

At that time, when the king says "What is the cause[227] of a great hue and cry[228] of weeping like this?", when [they] tell [him] "The *saṃghas* have destroyed and killed one another," the king will be cast down. And having arisen, when he goes early in the morning to the temple outside the city, some[229] of the saṃghas will have cut off one another's heads, some plucked [each other's] eyes out, [and] some cut off one another's arms and legs. And seeing that they had died in various ways like that, he will search for the corpses of the arhat as well as the preceptor Śiṣyaka, knower of the *tripiṭaka*, and when he has found the corpses of the two of

them, placing them under his right and left arms[230] he will say "As to the arhat, [he] was my father. As to Śiṣyaka, [he] was my Dharma-treasury.[231] Because these two have passed away, from now on I do not care even for my own body and life. I will give the kingdom to whomever has need of it." And so saying, his eye[s] will become dark, and he will not [be able to] see.

At that time all the officials, feeling pity for their king in order to assuage his suffering will dress five hundred people as *bande*, [232] and when [they] shave their beard and hair they will not make use of[233] a knife, but will singe the beard and hair with fire. And because at that time the one hundred kinds of colored dyes will have disappeared, the five hundred *bande* will be made devoid of monastic robes.[234] And dressing [them in] black and red animal hides, and having sent them before the king, when the nobles say to the king "Five hundred *bande* have arrived,"[235] the king will rejoice, and opening his eye[s] and looking, when he examines the *bande*, not having seen that the *bande* are all wearing animal hides, and have not cut their beard and hair, [but] burned [them] with fire, the king will rejoice. And saying "Give [me] the materials [hend.] for worshipping the three jewels!", when he has worshipped those *bande*, and when he examines and reflects on the *bande* in detail, the king will see clearly that [they] are dressed in monastic robes of animal hides, and have not cut their beard and hair, but have singed [them] by fire, he himself[236] having become possessed of uncertainty and doubt will think to himself, "As to these, they are not monks after all.[237] If that is the case, let me question them a bit."[238] And when he asked the monks what there views and precepts were, because not a single one of them all knew[239] even a little bit [about] monks' views as well as correct conduct together with the precepts,[240] when they do not say a word in

reply to the king, [but] just sit quietly, the king will think thus: "As to now, the Buddha's teaching is finished, and the way of the three jewels is indeed cut off." And when he thought thus, the king – great suffering moving [in him] – broke into sobs.

Then that king, having taken and cremated the corpses of the many *bande* who had struck one another and died, did homage to them, and after that indeed the king, being [overcome] by[241] the sorrowful thought of the teaching having died out, will pass away.

At that time, on that occasion, the exalted dharmas[242] in Jambudvīpa having all died out, the letters of the scriptures will become invisible, as if one had wiped clean a conch shell.[243]

Gold will become silver, silver will become *Jan*[244] and iron, *Jan* and iron will become stone. Jewels as well as pearls will become horn. And of the six kinds of flavorful foods[245] – tasteless,[246] sour, salty and so on – [only] two tastes, the bitter and the astringent, will remain.

The occasion of the prophecy concerning the way in which the Buddha will attain nirvana and the teaching endure and be destroyed, from the sutra requested of the Lord Śākyamuni by the noble Candragarbha, is ended.[247]

Notes to the Mongolian Version

1. Lit. "prophecy-manifested" (Mo. *wiwanggirid üǰügülügsen*). The Mongolian translation of the Tibetan (as is frequently the case in the fully developed classical Mongolian style) is overly literal, and in this case redundant. The Mongolian term *wiwanggirid* is an Indian loan word meaning "prophecy, prediction" (Kow. 2668a), ultimately derived from the Sanskrit (or Prakrit) *vyākaraṇa* ~ *vyākṛta* "prophecy" (see below). The same Sanskrit word is ordinarily represented in Tibetan (e.g., *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1657) by the phrase *lung-bstan-pa*, lit. "the instruction (*lung*) which has been shown or taught (*bstan-pa*)." Mo. *wiwanggirid* should thus serve as the equivalent of the entire Tibetan phrase. In the present instance, however, as in a number of other texts in the Mongolian Kanǰur, the translator has added the word *üǰügülügsen* as a separate translation of the component *bstan-pa* ("shown, manifested"). The resulting Mongolian translation is both cumbersome and redundant.

   As to the word *wiwanggirid* itself, the Mongolian form is the result of a long series of developments from an original Skt. *vyākaraṇa* "separation, distinction; explanation; manifestation, revelation" and in Buddhist texts also "prediction, prophecy" (MW 1035c). The development of verbal nouns in Central Asian Sanskrit (or more likely Prakrit) with *-ita* parallel to original *-ana* is well attested by loan words preserved in a number of Central Asian languages; see H.W. Bailey, *BSOAS* XIII (1949), p. 662, §32. To the examples cited there we may now add Skt./Pkt. *deśana* "showing, manifestation; confession" || **deśita* → Tokh. A *deśit* → Uig. *tižit* "forgiveness" (not "confession" as in Asmussen, *X*^{u}*āstvānīft*, p. 154 and p. 161, n. 107). From the form *vyākṛta* || *vyākaraṇa* we get Uighur *viyakrit* (*DTS* 633b), probably via an as yet unattested Tokharian intermediary. (Note that the Uighur form *viakarn* cited as an alternate Uighur spelling by Bailey [*loc. cit.*] on the authority of F.W.K. Müller and E. Sieg [*SPAW* 1916, p. 405, colophon 38b] and corrected by Tekin to read *vyakran* [*Maitrisimit*, I, p. 112, l. 22, transliterated as *βy'kr'n*] is a different word, taken directly from the Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa* in the sense of "grammar, grammatical analysis" [MW 1035], not "prophecy." The context is here decisive: The word occurs in the phrase *vyakran ulatï šastr-larïγ*, "*vyākaraṇa* and other *śāstras* [acc.]." Thus the word *vyakran* must refer to grammatical works, which are classified among the *śāstra* literature, and not to prophecies, which are considered *sūtras*.)

The earliest form of this word attested in Mongolian, *wiyagirid* (Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, vol. III, *Monuments en écriture 'Phags-pa*, p. 106, s.v. *wiyagirid*; and vol. V, *Les douze actes du Bouddha*, p. 503, s.v. *viyagirid*), matches the Uighur *viyakrit* exactly, if we take into account the fact that pre-classical Mongolian generally rejects the writing of consonant + *r*, requiring a vowel (most commonly *i*) to divide such clusters. Once the term was adopted, however, it continued to evolve under the influence of Mongolian phonology and orthography. Thus the letter *y* came to be read as a second *w* due to the visual confusion between the two letters in the Mongolian script, and the letter *g* was prenasalized, softening the un-Mongolian-sounding combination *-agi-* to *-angi-*. (An intermediate form with this spelling appears in a manuscript version of the *Qutuɣ-tu üker-ün aɣula-yin wiwangirid üǰügülügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur*; see Heissig, "Entstehungsgeschichte," p. 75.) Finally a second letter *g* was added, yielding the standard classical Mongolian form *wiwanggirid*. (Classical Mongolian ordinarily does not tolerate the combinations **angi* or **anki*, but requires the conversion of *n* to *ng* in this context; for another example see note 36 below.) In this form the term became so fully domesticated that it generated a derived verbal form *wiwanggiridlekü* "to predict, prophesy" (Kow. 2668b). Both the nominal and the verbal forms have survived to the present, and are registered in Hangin's dictionary of modern Khalkha, s.vv. "prophecy", "prophesy" (*EMD* 170b).

The verbal noun *üǰügülügsen* ("shown, manifested"), employed here as a translation of Tib. *bstan-pa* ("shown, taught") is derived from the root *üǰügül-* "show," a form derived from earlier *üǰegül-* (a causative in *-gül-* of *üǰe-* "to see"; see Kow. 545b). It is worth noting, however, that the earliest Mongolian texts (e.g. *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha* and the texts in 'Phags-pa script) do not use this Tibetan-based form, but employ only the Indian loan word *wiyagirid* ("prophecy") as the equivalent of Tib. *lung bstan-pa*. (For references see the *Indices* of Ligeti cited in the preceding paragraph.)

2. "Teaching" translates Mo. *šasin* "commandment, doctrine, [religious] teaching" (Kow. 1445a). The Mongolian term is a loan word from Uig. *šazin* (not registered in *EDT*; transcribed as *šazīn* in *DTS* 521b, but cf. L.V. Clark, "Turkic Loanwords in Mongol," *CAJ* XXIV [1980], p. 40, where the word is read *šazin*). The immediate antecedent of the Uighur form is uncertain, though Tokharian or Sogdian would be most likely; the attribution of the Uighur form to a Khotanese source by Cleaves ("Bodhi," p. 95, n. 59) and more recently by Tekin (*Die Kapitel*, p. 37) stems from a remark by Vladimirtsov ("Mongolica I," p. 313, cited in Cleaves, *loc. cit.*) which is

open to some question. The Khotanese form ends in *-ā* in the nominative singular (see R. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, p. 412, l. 482, *śśāśanā*), and would have been unlikely to yield a Turkish form in final *-ø*. (Note that the Uighur form *šasani* listed in *DTS* 520b as occurring in TT VIII H_{10} is a ghost form, the result of an erroneous reading – based on grammatical misunderstanding – by the dictionary's editors [Ş. Tekin, personal communication, 1986]; the underlying root form is *šasan*). A variety of forms of this word are attested in the Uighur; see for example Ş. Tekin, *Maitrisimit*, II (Index), p. 109a, s.v. *š'zyn*.

The regularly occurring form in the earliest Mongolian literature is *šasin* (the only form cited in the five volumes published to date of Ligeti's *Indices Verborum* to the pre-classical literature, with the exception of the rather anomalous form *šac'in*, attested only in two 'Phags-pa script works, one of which has the form *šasin* as well; see Ligeti, *Indices*, vol. III, p. 90, s.v. *šacin*). At an undetermined later date we begin to find the parallel form *šaǰin* (cf. Kow. 1445a, s.v. *šasin*) as well; on the alternation of medial *s* ~ *ǰ* < Turkic *z* in Turkic loan words in Mongolian see Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and n. 11.

3. "Buddha" translates Mo. *burqan*, a word whose etymology has long been the subject of debate. The Mongolian form is clearly a direct borrowing of Uighur *burχan*, but the source of the latter is not immediately evident. The most commonly held opinion today is that the Turkic form is derived from Chinese *but* 佛 ("Buddha"), pronounced something like **bur* in North China during the VI-VIIth centuries, plus the Turkic word *qan* ("khan, king"); for this derivation see von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 332b; Clauson, *EDT*, 279b (s.v. *but*) and 360b (s.v. *burχan*), and most recently S. Tekin, *Maitrisimit*, vol. 2 (Index), p. 84a (s.v. *pwrq'n*). The Chinese word may itself be derived from an Iranian (e.g., Sogdian) form rather than directly from an Indian (Sanskrit or Prakrit) original. For the Iranian forms of the word see H.W. Bailey, "The word *'but'* in Iranian," *BSOS* VI (1931), pp. 279-283; to the examples cited there we may now add the Parthian form *but* (see Mary Boyce, *A Word-List of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, = Acta Iranica 9a [Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, 1977], p. 29, s.v. *bwt*[1]). For the Mongolian word itself and a thorough discussion of previous literature see Cleaves, "Bodhi," pp. 91-92, n. 29. As Pelliot remarked in 1925 (*JA* 206 [1925], p. 254), "malgré plusieurs études, la question reste obscure."
4. The Mongolian term *sudur* is a loan word from Uighur *sutur* (*DTS* 515a), which in turn is perhaps derived from Sogdian *swttr* (MacKenzie, "Glossary," p. 86b), but cf.

Tokharian A *sutär* (Thomas, *Elementarbuch*, II, p. 155). The ultimate source of all these forms is Sanskrit (or Prakrit) *sūtra,* originally "string, thread" (MW 1241c) but later used to refer to literary works, in particular (among the Buddhists) to those works considered to be the words of the Buddha himself, as opposed to commentaries produced by his followers.

5. Mo. *öčigsen,* lit. "that which was requested." *Öči-* is the regular Mongolian equivalent of the Tibetan verbs *gsol-ba* and *zhu-ba,* both used to designate the speech of an inferior (e.g., a disciple) to a superior (e.g., the Buddha). The word *öči-* is not originally Mongolian, however, but is a Turkic loan word according to Doerfer (*TMEN*, II, p. 574). The expected Turkic antecedent, **öti-* (or (**öt-*) is not registered in existing dictionaries, where we find only the verbal form *ötun-* (*EDT* 62a-b; *DTS* 392b); cf. however the nominal forms *ötig* and *ötik* (*DTS* 392b) which would presumably be derived from an original verbal root **öti-*. (The final *-n-* of the Turkic verbal root, preceded by the union vowel *ü,* is a well-known deverbal suffix forming passive or reflexive verbs as well as verbs identical in meaning to the simplex; see von Gabain, *ATG,* §159.) The usage of the Mongolian verb *öči-* parallels that of Uig. *ötün-* exactly, at least in the Buddhist texts; we are therefore justified in adding the meanings "to request, ask (a superior)" to those cited in Kow. 541b ("parler, dire à un autre, redire: répondre, faire une réponse"). (For a discussion of the uses of *öči-* in pre-classical Mongolian civil documents see Antoine Mostaert and Francis Woodman Cleaves, *Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhans Arɣun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Scripta Mongolica Series I [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962], p. 26.) In the present case the verbal noun *öčigsen* is used to render Tib. *zhus-pa,* "that which was requested" (presumably a translation of an original Sanskrit *paripṛcchā*, "inquiry, question" [*MW* 597b-c]). On the *paripṛcchā* as a Buddhist literary genre see note 5 to the Tibetan version.
6. The Mongolian uses the *genitivus actoris* (see Poppe, *Grammar*, §644) to render the instrumental case (likewise indicating the subject of a verbal noun) of the Tibetan.
7. The Sanskrit title is reconstructed on the basis of the Tibetan; see note 1 to the Tibetan version.
8. The absence of any Mongolian equivalent of this word (Tib. *sngon*, found in all versions of the Tibetan consulted for this edition except P1) harmonizes with other evidence that the Mongolian translation was based on a Tibetan text intermediate between P1 and P3. For further discussion of this issue see above, pp. 223-224.

9. "Lord" translates Mo. *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen* (lit. "he who has conquered and has passed [away] completely", a highly artificial calque on Tib. *bcom-ldan-'das*, "he who has passed away possessing victory" which in turn serves as the regular equivalent of Skt. *bhagavān* (see note 10 to the Tibetan version). Following the convention established in English translations of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, I have rendered this expression into English simply as "Lord."

   It is striking that this expression, which is so ubiquitous in classical Mongolian Buddhist literature, is entirely absent from the pre-classical texts. In these early works the Buddha is referred to simply as *burqan*, "Buddha," using the Uighur loan word alone. Even in the classical literature it is noteworthy that the Mongolian texts frequently *add* the word *burqan* when the Tibetan refers to the Buddha simply as "Lord" (*bcom-ldan-'das*); for discussion of an example in this text see below, line 39. The absence of the Tibetan-based form *ilaǰü tegüs nögčigsen* in the earliest layer of Mongolian Buddhist literature provides yet another example of the relative independence of that tradition from Tibetan influence during its formative stages.

10. The spelling *kharadi rhag* is the result of the misreading by a Mongolian copyist of an earlier form **kharhi rhag*, a form that would correspond exactly to the spelling *kha-rhi-rhag* in the Tibetan xylographs. The misreading of the galig letter *h* as *d* is a common error in the Mongolian Kanjur, especially in the case of rarely occurring proper names. (Note that when the full form of the letter *h*  is misread as *d*  the word acquires an extra vowel or *n*, since the initial tooth that comprises part of the galig letter *h* is then read as a separate element.) The Tibetan spelling *kha-rhi-rhag* is itself the result of a copyist's misreading of the earlier form *kha-dhi-rha-ga* (attested in the Tunhuang manuscript); see note 2 to the Tibetan version for further details. The underlying Sanskrit word is *Khadiraka*, the name of a mountain well known in Buddhist cosmolgy but not generally referred to as a real geographical place in this world (see note 11 to the Tibetan version). For a detailed treatment of the representations of the Sanskrit and Tibetan letter *h* and of aspirated consonants in general in the Mongolian *galig* alphabet see Appendix 4, "The *Ali Kali* Alphabet."

11. Lit. "at that time, at that time [when]" (Mo. *tere čaγ-tur ... tere čaγ-tur*). The two temporal phrases are separated widely enough in the Mongolian text that the effect is not as awkward as it would be in a literal English translation.

12. The transcription of this expression into Mongolian as *bowadhi-saduwa ma-ha-a-saduwa* reflects the use of the fully developed *ali kali* alphabet, where the Sanskrit (and Tibetan) letter *o* is written with the combination *owa* in order to distinguish it from the

letter *u*. The first component of this term (the regular representation of Tib. *byang-chub sems-dpa'*, = Skt. *bodhisattva*, in classical Mongolian) is sometimes transcribed in the form *bôdhi sadû* by European scholars, but this practice can lead to confusion. The form *û* is particularly misleading, since in the word *saduwa* the cluster *uwa* represents not a single vowel (as in *owa* for Skt. *o*) but the finanl *-va* of Skt. *sattva*, preceded by a vowel *u* whose origin is not at all clear. I have found it preferable, therefore, to transcribe the Mongolian letters exactly as they are written in the original script, to avoid any confusion that might be produced by using more abbreviated forms.

It is interesting to note that the Mongolian, in which every letter of the Sanskrit word *bodhi* is carefully delineated, seems to make no attempt to represent the double *tt* of the Sanskrit word *sattva*. It is possible, as suggested by F.W. Cleaves [personal communication, 1986], that the form *saduwa* is the product of a phonetic adaptation of an original **sattwa* to the requirements of Mongolian pronunciation; on the other hand, the fact that we find this term in the context of the extremely artificial spellings *ma-ha-a* (for Skt. *mahā-*) and *bowadhi* (for Skt. *bodhi*) suggests that a purely orthographic explanation might be more likely. Whatever the path by which it developed, though, the spelling *saduwa* is unlikely to have been the original Mongolian transcription of this term.

Finally, we might note that in the earliest form of this expression found in Mongolian literature, *bodistw maqastw* (in various spellings; see Ligeti, *Indices*, for references) was borrowed by the Mongols directly from the Uighur *bodistv maqastv* (for *bodistv* see *DTS* 107b; for *maqastv* see Moerloose, p. 66) who in turn had obtained these terms from the Sogdians (*pwtystβ mγ'stβ*; see MacKenzie, "Glossary," pp. 81a, 85a). The Sogdian term *pwtystβ* has been traced further to a Parthian prototype (*bōdisadf*); see Werner Sundermann, "Die Bedeutung des Parthischen für die Verbreitung buddhistischer Wörter indischer Herkunft," *AoF*, IX (1982), 99-113, especially pp. 100-108.

13. Lit. "together with the companions (*nökŏd*) of the *bodhisattva-mahāsattvas* of the ten directions." The genitive ending *-un* in the Mongolian has no counterpart in the Tibetan text, and should be removed. The Mongolian translator may have been distracted by the initial *'a-chung* (འ) of the following word (*'khor*) in the Tibetan, which could have led him to see a genitive ending (*-po'i*) where there was none.
14. "Arhat" translates Mo. *dayini daruγsan* (lit. "one who has slain the enemy"), a calque of Tib. *dgra-bcom-pa* ("one who has conquered the enemy") which in turn is the

regular equivalent of Skt. *arhat* (strong-stem form *arhant*). The Tibetan form is the product of a mistaken etymology of *arhant* as a derivative of *ari* "enemy" plus the verbal root √*han*, "kill, slay" (for a discussion of this derivation see Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 67b, s.v. *arhant*).

Like *ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen* (note 9 above), however, this Tibetan-based expression is not found in the earliest Mongolian Buddhist literature, which uses instead the loan word *arqand* (see Cleaves, "Bodhi," 162a14 and 162b4, with a discussion of this term on. p. 111, n. 222) ~ *arqnd* (the transcription of this word as *arqad* in Ligeti, *Indices*, IV, p. 23, should be corrected; cf. the Uighur spelling *'rqnt* registered in Tekin, *Maitrisimit*, 2, Index, p. 26a). Both forms are derived from Uighur antecedents: Mo. *arqand* may be equated with Uighur *arχant* (*DTS* 58b), while Mo. *arqnd* is certainly based on the Uighur form *'rqnt* given in Tekin (*loc. cit.*). (Note that the Uighur term begins with a single aleph, a common orthographic convention in Uighur words with initial *a-* followed by a semivowel (*r, l*) or nasal (*m*) [Ş. Tekin, personal communication, 1986].) The Uighur term is more likely to be based on the Sogdian (*rγ'nt* ; see Benveniste, *TS*, 2, Glossaire, p. 269b) than on the Tokharian (Tokh. A *arant*, B *arhante*; see Moerloose, p. 66, and Shōgaito, p. 104a). For the Sanskrit form see MW 93c, s.v. *arhat*; the Tibetan is given in *Mvy.* nos. 4, 5138 and *passim.*

15. The Mongolian word *tngri* ("sky, heaven, god") is the regular equivalent in Buddhist texts of Tib. *lha* ("upper, god"), which in turn corresponds to Skt. *deva*. For a discussion of the Mongolian term and its pre-Buddhist religious context see Jean-Paul Roux, "Tängri. Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques," *RHR*, CLXIX (1956), 49-82.

16. In *luus* we have a plural in *-s* of *luu* "dragon, water spirit" << Ch. *lung* 龍 "dragon." The Mongolian form is not based directly on the Chinese, however, but was obtained via the Uighur *luu* (id.); see F.W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346," p. 85, n. 3. The Mongolian *luu* is used in Buddhist texts (both classical and preclassical) as the regular equivalent of Tib. *klu* ("dragon, water spirit"), which in turn translates Skt. *nāga* (*id.*).

17. Mo. *yagṣas* (written *yaǧsas* in the xylograph, but presumably this is simply a misalignment of the double dot for *ṣ*), a plural in *-s* of the word *yagṣa* << Skt. *yakṣa*, "fertility spirit" and later "demon" (MW 838b, *BHSD* 442a). The word appears in the earliest literature in the form *yakšas* (pl. *yakšas-nuɣud*!); see Ligeti, *Indices*, V, 508-509. The Mongolian form is based on Uighur *yakša* (*DTS* 227a); for the Uighur

form the Sogdian *ykš* is a more likely antecedent than either Tokharian A *yakāṣ* or Tokharian B *yakṣe* (for these three forms see Shōgaito, p. 92).

18. Mo. *gandari*, a form derived from earlier *gandarwi* (attested in numerous preclassical and classical texts; for the earliest forms see Ligeti, *Indices*, V, pp. 192-193 s.v. *gandarvi*; and Cleaves, "Bodhi," p. 49 [161b10] for the plural form *gandarwis*) < Uig. *gandarvi* (*DTS* 194a-b) < Tokh. B *gandharve* (Moerloose, p. 66) < Skt. *gandharva* "aerial spirit" (MW 346a). The word is not registered in Kowalewski either in the spelling *gandari* or in the more standard form *gandarwi;* cf. however the entries *gandharba* and *gandarba* given on p. 2429b together with the translated form *ünür idesitü* ("odor-eater," < Tib. *dri-za*, id.). Lessing lists only the forms *gandharva* (1170a) and *gandarisun* [sic!] (394b), a genitive in *-un* < *gandaris*, which in turn is a plural in *-s* of the form *gandari*. (The collective suffix *-sun/-sün* is not used with Indian loan words [F.W. Cleaves, personal communication, 1986].)
19. Mo. *asuri* < Uig. *asuri* (*DTS* 61b) < Tokh. B *asure* (Moerloose, p. 66) < Skt. *asura* (MW 121a).
20. Mo. *kinari* < Uig. *kinari* (*DTS* 308a) < Tokh. AB *kinnare* (Moerloose, p. 67) < Skt. *kiṃnara* (lit. "what sort of man?"; see MW 283a).
21. Mo. *mahowaragi* is a partially re-Sanskritized form (note the maintenance of final *-i* for Skt. final *-a*) of earlier *maqoragi* (Kow. 1980b, s.v. *maqoraγa*) < Uig. *maχoragi* (*DTS* 339a) < Tokh. B? (apparently not attested) < Skt. *mahoraga*. The Sanskrit form is not registered as such in MW, but cf. *BHSD* 427b, s.v. *mahoragaka*, and *Mvy*. no. 3224 (*mahoragaḥ*, = Tib. *lto-ḥphye chen-po*, lit. "great stomach-crawler").
22. Mo. *garudi* < Uig. *garudi* (*DTS* 194b) < Tokh. B? (apparently not attested) < Skt. *garuḍa* (MW 348c).
23. Mo. *simnu* ~ *šimnu* < Uig. *šimnu* ~ *šmnu* (*EDT* 868a) < Sogd. *šmnw* "Satan" (in Christian Sogdian literature), "Ahriman" (in Manichaean Sogdian). For references to the Christian Sogdian forms, first cited as the source of the Uighur term by Vladimirtsov, see Cleaves, "Bodhi," p. 93, n. 31; for the Manichaean Sogdian usage see Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, §§1065, 1190. Vladimirtsov ("Mongolica I," p. 325) expressed the expectation that the Sogdian prototype of Uig./Mo. *šimnu* would be found in Sogdian Buddhist texts; it would seem, however, that the Buddhists substituted the word *δyw*, "demon" (cf. MacKenzie, *The Sutra of Causes and Effects in Sogdian*, lines 250, 261; and Benveniste, *TS*, 2, *Glossaire*, p. 253a, s.v. *δyw*). Perhaps the resemblance between the word *šmnw* and Buddhist Sogdian *šmn(y)*, "(Buddhist) monk" was a bit too close for comfort.

The epithet *čibil-tü*, "sinful" (Kow. 2149b), translates Tib. *sdig-can* (id.), a common epithet of Māra; for the original Sanskrit (*mārāḥ pāpīyan*, lit. "sinful Māra") see MW 619a and *BHSD* 341a, s.v. *pāpīyas*.

24. Mo. *iagšan* < Uig. *lakšan* (*DTS* 332a) < Tokh. B *lakṣāṃ* or Tokh. A *lakṣaṃ* (Moerloose, p. 70) < Skt. *lakṣaṇa* (MW 892a).
25. The word *dwib* "continent," << Skt. *dvīpa* (id.) occurs independently in Mongolian, as well as in the proper name *Čambudwip* (for which see below, note 27). It is presumably a borrowing from Uighur, though the form **dwip* is not attested independently in existing Uighur dictionaries and glossaries.
26. *Buru-a-widiq-a* represents a partially re-Sanskritized transcription of Skt. *Pūrva-videha* (for which see *BHSD* 352a). In a fully re-Sanskritized spelling of this term one would expect an indication of the Sanskrit long *ū* as well as the replacement of *q* by the *galig* letter *h* in the Mongolian script. Finally, the transcription of Skt. *va* as *u-a* is typical of Mongolian transcriptions from Tibetan, not Sanskrit, and reinforces the general impression that the translator(s) of this text did not have recourse to any reference works in scripts other than Mongolian and Tibetan.
27. The word *Čambudwib* (<< Skt. *Jambudvīpa*, for which see MW 412b) is generally written either in this form (borrowed directly from the Uigur *Čambudvip*; not registered in *EDT*, but see Tekin, *Maitrisimit*, 2 [Index], p. 52b, s.v. *č'mpwδβyp*, and *DTS* 138a, s.v. *Čambudivip*) or in the partially re-Sanskritized form *J̌ambudwib* (see below, note 66). Interestingly, the term never seems to be written in the fully re-Sanskritized form **J̌ambudwiiba*. Presumably this is because the word had already been accepted into the spoken language in its Uighur form, and was too well established to be dislodged, even in the KanǰJur texts, by a fully re-Sanskritized version. The Uighur term itself is traced back to Tokh. AB *Jambudvip* by Moerloose (p. 74), but cf. Sogd. *cnpwδβyp(w)* and *cympwδiy* (MacKenzie, "Glossary," p. 78a).
28. *Abar-a-godaniy-a* is, like *Buru-a-widiq-a*, a partially re-Sanskritized transcription, representing original Skt. *Apara-godānīya*. In a fully re-Sanskritized version the letter *o* would have been written *owa* and the long vowels indicated by reduplication.
29. The letters *-kürü-e* in the Mongolian transcription of Skt. *Uttarakuru* are certainly the result of a copyist's error, created under the influence of the form *Buru-a* occuring immediately above (see note 26). The first part of this word, which should correspond to Skt. *Uttara-*, is difficult to explain as it stands.
30. The Mongolian translator has hardly done justice to the Tibetan here. In rendering

Tib. *kun-tu* "unto all, everywhere, in every direction" (Das 23a) as *qamuγ-ača* (lit. "from all") – rather than *qamuγ-a* ("partout, de tous les côtés"; see Kow. 806b) as one would expect – the translator has inadvertently created a comparative construction in the Mongolian, literally "more entire than anything" (*qamuγ-ača tügemel*). It is possible, of course, that this error was committed not by the translator but by a later copyist.

31. Mo. *Sümir* < Uig. *sumir* (*DTS* 513b) < Tokh. AB *sumer* (Shōgaito 92b; cf. Sogdian *smyr* in Shōgaito, *loc. cit.*) < Skt. *Sumeru* (MW 1231b). The front vowel of the first syllable in the Mongolian can be attributed to the effect of the vowel *i* in the second syllable.
32. One would expect the plural form *aγulas* here, though in Mongolian the expression of plurality is of course optional.
33. Mo. *tököm* ("band de terre; terrain inégal, plein d'ornières; sillon; endroit habité, province," Kow. 1930a; "depression, hollow," Lessing 833a) renders Tib. *ljongs* "cultivated valley, district" (Das 470b).
34. The Mongolian expression *aγula-yin ölke* "sunny side of a mountain" (Lessing 633b) does not match the corresponding Tibetan expression, *ri-sul* (defined as "lateral valley, ravine, hollow" in standard dictionaries, e.g., Das 1272b, but also used as the equivalent of various Sanskrit words for "cave" in the Buddhist literature) at all. The Mongolian word *ölke* is no doubt the result of a copying error for an original *nüke*, "hole, crevice" (Kow. 699a).
35. The word *qaγurγal*, used here in the compound *subaγ qaγurγal* to render Tib. *grag-grog* (itself not registered as such in Tibetan dictionaries but cf. *grog-po*, "a deep ravine in which a torrent flows; laternal valley" [Roerich, 2, p. 106b] and Chapter 2, note 4 to the Tibetan version) appears to be a variant of *qaγurqai* ~ *qaγarqai* (Kow. 748a, "fente, trou, crevasse," and Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages*, 150/400). The word *qaγurγal* is not registered in Kowalewski or Lessing, but occurs in the pre-classical Mongolian text of the *Twelve Deeds of Buddha* (Ligeti, *Index*, V, p. 241) and is preserved in Tuvin in the form *xoorgal* "ravine, crack" (cited in Poppe, *Twelve Deeds*, p. 82, note to line 5 of F11r). The word *subaγ* alone is defined as "fossé, canal, aqueduc" in Kow. 1390b, where the Tibetan equivalent is given as *grog-mo*.
36. "Host" translates Mo. *olangki*, technically an adjective in *-ki* (Poppe, *Grammar*, §184) from *olan*, "many." Despite its adjectival form, however, the term is most commonly used as a noun and not an attribute in both the classical and the preclassical language, and is generally translated "the majority, the greater part" (see Kow. 394a, Lessing

608a). In the Buddhist literature, however, the term seems to have retained its attributive function, and is regularly used as the translation of such Tibetan expressions as *phal-cher* "many" (Das 822a) and *phal-po-che* (id.). Note that when the suffix *-ki* is added the classical language requires the conversion of the final *-n* of *olan* to *-ng-*. The tendency for *angi* ~ *anki* to become *anggi* ~ *angki* seems to be quite generalized in the classical language; for another example cf. above, note 1.

37. "Forms" translates Mo. *körög beyes*, of which *körög* ("image, form") is a loan word from Uighur *körk* ("something visible; shape, form"; *EDT* 741a), a deverbal noun in *-k* (von Gabain, *ATG*, §§ 127, 149) from *kör-* "to see" (*EDT* 746a). In this instance Mo. *körög beyes* translates Tib. *sku-gzugs*, lit. "body-form" (an honorific expression for "body"), but cf. lines 25 and 78, where the same Mongolian expression translates Tib. *gzugs-brnyan*, "image" (in the sense of a statue or other artistic representation).

38. The Mongolian form *Wayiširawani* is based on Uig. *Vaiširavani* (*DTS* 632b) or *Vaiširvani* (the predominant form in Uighur according to Moerloose, p. 77, note 30) < Tokh. B *Vaiśravaṇe* (Moerloose, p. 63) < Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa* (MW 1026c).

39. Note that the Mongolian adds the word *burqan* "Buddha," a word which has no equivalent in the Tibetan text. This practice – which is quite common in Mongolian Kanǰur texts, and appears to be a deliberate divergence on the part of the Mongols from the Tibetan texts from which they were translating – would seem to reflect the degree to which the Uighur loan word *burqan* had gained acceptance as the sole title of the Buddha in Mongolian texts prior to the ascendancy of Tibetan influence on Mongolian translation style. For the term *burqan* itself see above, note 3.

40. "As follows" translates the Mongolian verbal ending *-r-un*, a form regularly used with verbs of speaking to introduce direct quotations. For a discussion of this and other uses of *-r-un* see Poppe, *Grammar*, §§380, 658 and Weiers, *Untersuchungen*, §40.

41. "What good" translates Mo. *yaγun-u tusa*. The Tibetan text reads *ci'i don-du*, lit. "in the sense of what," i.e., "what is the meaning [of this ray of light]?" The Mongolian translator, however, chose another of the many meanings of Tib. *don* (which shares the wide semantic range of its Sanskrit counterpart *artha*, including such definitions as "meaning; benefit, use; goal, objective" [Das 642b-643a]). The resulting Mongolian text differs appreciably from the intended sense of the Tibetan.

42. The term *üileddümüi* "does, performs" shows the gemination of final *d* of the verbal stem preceding the union vowel *ü*, a feature typical of the classical (but not the preclassical) language. For examples of *üiled-* without the geminated *d* see Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, vol. IV, pp. 318-319 and vol. V, pp. 481-482. For another

example of a geminated final *d* of a verbal root before the union vowel *u* ~ *ü* see below, note 62.

43. Note the alternation between the construction without the genitive ending (*nirwan boluγsan qoyin-a*, here and in line 29 below) and with the genitive (*nirwan boluγ san-u qoyin-a* in line 39). Both constructions occur frequently in the classical language; see Fred Buck, *A Comparative Study of the Postpositions in the Mongolian Dialects and the Written Language* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), §45.

    The expression *nirwan bol-* (lit. "to become nirvana") is quite common in classical Mongolian, but upon closer examination appears somewhat peculiar. (One would rather have expected something like "to attain nirvana," "to arrive at [the state of] nirvana," or perhaps "to become possessed of nirvana," the latter admittedly a bit problematic in Buddhist philosophical terms.) The expression is clearly not a calque on the Tibetan *mya-ngan-las 'das*, lit. "passed beyond suffering," nor does it appear, at first glance, to match any of the corresponding expressions in Uighur. What we may have here, however, is a *misunderstanding* of a corresponding Turkish phrase: in the Turkish texts (e.g., Tekin, ed., *Maitrisimit*, 87,9; 196,17; 34,10) we find the expression *nirvan bul-* "to find/attain nirvana." The difficulty in distinguishing Tü. *bol-* "to become" from *bul-* "to find, attain" in certain contexts is a well known problem; could the Mongolian *nirwan bol-* be based on a misunderstanding of Tü. *nirvan bul-* as *nirvan bol-* ?

44. "Dharma-words" translates Mo. *Jarliγ nom-ud*, lit. "command-dharmas," the counterpart of Tib. *chos-kyi gsung-rab* ("Dharma discourse[s]").

45. "Relics" translates Mo. *šaril*, a development from earlier *šarir* < Uig. *šarir* (*DTS* 520b) < Tokh. B *śarīr* (Moerloose, p. 71) < Skt. *śarīra* (MW 1057c). For the earlier Mo. form *šarir* see for example the references given in Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, Vol. III, p. 90. The dissimilation of final *-r* → *-l* is well attested; see Marian Lewicki, *Les incriptions inédités en écriture carrée*, Collectanea Orientalia 12 (Wilno, 1937), p. 62, 6. For parallel developments cf. preclassical *irüger* "prayer, benediction" (e.g., in the *Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, for which see Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, vol. V, p. 211; and in the *Secret History*, for which see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 113, line 7622, where the word is written with the ancient initial *h-* as *hirü'er*) → classical *irügel* (Kow. 323b), and preclassical *iruγar* "depths, interior" (spelled *hiru'ar* in the *Hua-i I-yü*; see Antoine Mostaert, *Le Matériel mongol du 'Houa i i iu' de Houng-ou (1389)* [Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1977], p. 60) → classical

iruγal (Kow. 321b).

46. "Images" translates Mo. *körög beyes*, lit. "form-bodies," an expression that here represents Tib. *gzugs-brnyan*, "reflection, image, replica." The same expression was used above (line 18) to translate Tib. *sku-gzugs*; see above, note 37.

47. The verb *qatangγadqaqu* (~ *qatangγudqaqu*), defined only as "to make firm, fortify, support" in existing dictionaries (e.g., Kow. 772a), clearly has the additional meaning "to commit, entrust, hand over (to someone)," at least in the Buddhist texts. The Tibetan equivalent of this verb is given correctly in Kow. (*loc. cit.*) as *gtod-pa*, yet the Tibetan term has only the sense of "deliver up, hand over, commit to another, bestow, confer" (Das 527a), not "make firm." Perhaps the verb *qatangγudqaqu* "to make firm" < *qatangγu* "firm," a term attested already in the *Secret History* (for which see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 293a s.v. *qatangqu*, and Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 63, s.v. *ḥatangḥu*) is to be distinguished from an unrelated verb *qatangγadqaqu*, "to commit, entrust."

In the present instance Tib. *gtad-kyis* ("I shall commit) is rendered by Mongolian *qatangγadqan ögsügei*, lit. "I will give [these to you] committingly," with the auxiliary verg *ög-* (like Uighur *bir-*) carrying the sense of "to do something for someone else's benefit," and the optative *-sügei* serving as a simple future (see Poppe, *Grammar*, §338). For another example see the *Ārya-amṛta-vyāharaṇa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (Ligeti No. 954, KanJur vol. 77 [Eldeb XVIII], folio 358b, line 20, where Mo. *čim-a-dur uγuγata qatangγadqabai* translates Tib. *khyod-la yongs-su gtad-kyis*, "[I] will completely hand over to you." (The Mongolian translator's choice of the past-tense ending *-bai* to represent the Tibetan future particle *-kyis* is difficult to explain; perhaps he was simply unaware of the meaning of this somewhat uncommon form and relied solely on the verbal root *gtad*, which can serve either as a perfective or a future form, for an indication of tense.) The verb *qatangγadqa-* appears again, likewise as the equivalent of Tib. *gtad*, in line 30 below (see note 49).

48. The use of *-tu* as a dative/locative ending, if not simply a copyist's error for the standard classical form *-tur/-dur*, betrays the influence of the non-classical spoken language (see Poppe, *Grammar*, §286).

49. The Mongolian translator has rendered Tib. *gtad-pa* (a verbal noun, here with the sense of "the fact of handing over") by the expression *qatangγadqan öggügči*, an agent noun construction which can be translated literally "one who hands over (for someone's benefit)." The multivalence of the Tibetan nominal ending *-pa/-ba*, which can function (*inter alia*) as a verbal noun, an adjective, or an agent noun, seems to have

served as a constant source of confusion to Mongolian translators working from Tibetan. For *qatangγadqa-* as such see above, note 46.

50. In *maqaraaça* (here the equivalent of Tib. *rgyal-po chen-po*, but cf. line 22 above, where the same Tibetan expression is instead translated as *yeke qad*) we have a partially re-Sanskritized form of earlier *maqarač* (for which see F. W. Cleaves, "Maqarač," unpublished paper, 1987). The spelling *maqarač* is well attested in the preclassical literature, and is a direct borrowing from Uig. *mqarač* ~ *maqarač* (*DTS* 337b) < Sogd. *mγ'r'č* (for which see Mackenzie 81a, with an unaccountable reference to *βγ'yšt* "deva"[!]; the word is correctly identified by Benveniste [*Textes Sogdiens*, 2, *Glossaire*, p. 258a] as a derivative of Skt. *mahārāja*, "great king"). The Turkish form appears already in the Orkhon inscriptions (where it is one of only a handful of Indian loan words attested in this early period) in the form *maqarač*; see Talat Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series Vol. 69 (Bloomington, IN: 1968), p. 355b. With the exception of the anomalous reading *mqaranč* found in Radloff's 17th-century manuscript of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (R18, Ch. 20; see the edition by Ş. Tekin in *JTS*, 11 [1987], pp. 133-199 [p. 137, VII, line 4 and n. 16]) the Turkic form appears to have remained stable throughout its history, showing vacillation only with respect to the presence or absence of the vowel *a* of the first syllable. The Mongolian form, however, underwent a number of changes, which may be summarized here on the basis of the article in progress by Cleaves: (1) *maqaraç* in the 'Phags-pa script inscription at Chü-yung kuan; see Louis Ligeti, *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta*, III [Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972], pp. 86, §5 and 95, §6, here transcribed *maqarač*); (2) *maqarača* (or *maqaraǰa*; the correct reading cannot be determined with certainty since medial *č* and *ǰ* are not distinguished in this period) in numerous preclassical texts; (3) *maqaranča* (or *maqaranǰa*), a form cited by Poppe and Nishida (quoted in Cleaves, "Maqarač," p. 19 of ms. copy) but without citing any specific textual authority; (4) *maqaraaça*, a spelling found in numerous Kanǰur texts including the one edited here; and (5) *maha-a-raaça* (a fully re-Sanskritized form, with *q* replaced by *h* and the long vowels indicated by reduplication), found in later texts (17th c. ff.). Note however that in this transcription the *galig* letter *ç* (for *j*, < Skt. *j*) is maintained; on this widespread phenomenon see Appendix 3.

51. The Mongolian translator (if the present reading is not simply the result of a copying error) has been overly literal here, resulting in a construction in which the Mongolian adverb *masi* "very" (for Tib. *shin-tu*, "very, exceedingly") modifies a noun

(*γayiqamsiγ*, for Tib. *ngo-mtshar*, "wonder, marvel"). One would rather expect the Mongolian text to read *masi γayiqamsiγ-tu bolai*, "it became very wonderful."

52. The Mongolian text, like the Tibetan, does not specify whether this expression is to be understood in the singular or the plural.
53. "Form" translates Mo. *öngge dürsü*, lit. "color-form." In the present context this expression translates Tib. *gzugs-brnyan*, "image, reflection," an compound used both in the general sense of "image" (either an artistic representation or a simple reflection in a mirror) and, as here (and immediately below, line 36), in the more technical sense of the "semblance Dharma" (Skt. *saddharma-pratirūpaka*). For a discussion of this term see Chapter 1, pp. 9-10, n. 19.
54. "For how long" translates *kedüi činegen boltala* (lit. "until [it] becomes how much measure?"), an expression usually used in reference to quantity or space, not time, in Mongolian [F. W. Cleaves, personal communication, 1986]. The corresponding Tibetan phrase, *ji-tsam-gyi bar-du* (lit. "in an interval of what extent?"), can have either spatial or temporal connotations.
55. The Mongolian translator used an explicit plural here, rendering the Tibetan *dam-pa'i chos* ("excellent Dharma, good Dharma") into Mongolian as *degedü nom-ud*, "exalted dharmas." Since the expression of plurality is optional in both Tibetan and Mongolian, this translation can be justified from a strictly grammatical point of view; yet to interpret the Tibetan this way radically alters the meaning of the passage. What is at issue here is not the disappearance of various dharmas (whether in the sense of the scriptures preached by the Buddha or, less likely, in the technical abhidharmic sense of the individual components of existence), but the disappearance of the Dharma itself: i.e., the totality of the Buddha's teachings, the practices related to them, and the community that carries them out. The Mongolian translation continues the occasional use of this plural form below; to convey the sense of the Mongolian text I have given these as plurals in English, but have capitalized the word "Dharma" to show that it is the Buddhist Dharma as a whole that is meant.
56. Mo. *sesig* < Uig. *sezik* (*EDT* 862a). The Mongolian term also appears in the spelling *sejig* (Kow. 1345b); on the alternation of medial *s* ~ *j* < Turkic *z* in Turkic loan words in Mongolian see note 2 above and Clark, "Turkic Loanwords in Mongol," p. 40.
57. Lit., "until [it] has become two thousand years" (*qoyar mingγan od boltala*).
58. See above, note 55.
59. Mo. *diyan* < Uig. (id.), presumably < Tokh. AB *dhyāṃ* (Moerloose, p. 69) but cf.

Sogd. *δy'(')n(y)* (MacKenzie, p. 78b, where the word is defined as "samādhi"!), < Skt. *dhyāna* "meditation, contemplation" (MW 521a-b). Note that the technical terms for "meditation" are used with far less precision in Mongolian than in Sanskrit or Tibetan, as is true of Mongolian Buddhist technical terms in general; both *diyan* and *samadi* are given in Lessing (pp. 1167a and 1182b, respectively), for instance, as the equivalents of Tib. *bsam-gtan* (corresponding to Skt. *dhyāna*), while *samadi* is further defined in a separate listing as the equivalent of Tib. *ting-nge 'dzin* (= Skt. *samādhi*). In the present instance we have yet another equivalence, as Mo. *diyan* corresponds (at least in part; see the following paragraph) to Tib. *ting-nge 'dzin*. For a helpful discussion of the various Sanskrit terms for "meditation" and the distinctions among them see Alan Sponberg, "Meditation in Fa-hsiang Buddhism," in Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), pp. 15-43 (pp. 17-21).

The Mongolian translator was not, however, content simply to translate Tibetan *ting-nge 'dzin* as *diyan*. As in the case of *wiwanggirid üjügülügsen* (above, note 1), he went on to translate the second component of the Tibetan expression, *'dzin* ("grasp, sieze") a second time, as *bariqui* (lit. "the fact of grasping"). The resulting translation (equivalent to one and a half times the content of the Tibetan original) is both redundant and confusing.

60. The Mongolian translator has completely misconstrued the Tibetan here. The Tibetan text reads *ting-nge 'dzin-la spyod-pa mang-du 'gyur-ro*, "those who practice meditation will become numerous." The Mongols, however, apparently took *mang-du* (in isolation "greatly," but here functioning as a terminative construction with *'gyur-ro* "will become," meaning "[those who practice meditation] will become many") as modifying *spyod-pa* ("practice"). This is impossible according to the rules of Tibetan syntax, as is the Mongols' apparent treatment of *spyod-pa* as a future form (in Mongolian *edlekü boluyu*; to be a future-tense form, however, the Tibetan would have to read *spyod-par 'gyur-ro*). The resulting Mongolian translation raises serious doubts as to the translator's understanding of Tibetan grammatical structure.

61. "Ordinary living beings" translates *düri amitan*, here (and below, line 47) the equivalent of Tib. *sems-can phal* "ordinary sentient beings." The use of the word *düri* in the sense of "ordinary, common" is not attested in existing dictionaries, where the word is defined only as "form, aspect, appearance" etc. (e.g., Kow. 1935b, Less. 282a, *DO* 172a). In the *Secret History*, however, the same word (in the alternate forms *düri* ~ *dürü*; see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 218b, s.v. *düri-yin*, *dürü- yin*)

occurs in the expression *düri-yin* (~ *düru-yin*) *kümün*, glossed in the Chinese as 白身人, i.e., "ordinary people, commoners" (see Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 39, s.vv. *duri, duru* "einfaches Volk," and Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages*, 252/383).

62. Note the gemination of final *-d* in the verbal stem *udurid-* before the union vowel *u* in *uduridduγad*. On this phenomenon cf. above, note 42.

63. The expression *sirawaγ-un arqad* (lit. "arhats of śrāvaka[s]") is rather unexpected, but note that the Narthang version of the Tibetan does connect these two elements with the genitive suffix *-kyi* (line 46). The word *sirawaγ* itself is presumably a borrowing from Uighur, although I have not yet been able to locate an example of this spelling; the Uighur in turn may go back to a Sogdian form **šr' 'βk* or **šr'β'k* (the form *šr' 'βkt* given in MacKenzie, "Glossary," p. 87a would appear to be a plural in *-t*).

64. "Faith" translates Mo. *süsüg* (also written *süǰüg*; see Kow. 1426a), the regular equivalent in Buddhist Mongolian of Tib. *dad-pa* "faith" (Das 617a). Both words mean "faith" in the sense of "belief in, reverence for." The alternation between medial *s* and *ǰ* in the Mongolian term suggests an Uighur antecedent with medial *z* (for other examples see above, notes 2 and 56); a prime candidate would be Uig. *süzük* "clear, pure" (*EDT* 862a) but also "believing" according to Tekin, *Maitrisimit*, 2 (*Index*), p. 113, s.v. *swyzwk*.

65. "Protectors" translates Mo. *sakiγulsun*, a collective in *-sun* of *sakiγul*, itself a deverbal agent noun in *-γul* (see Poppe, *Grammar*, §153) of the verb *saki-* "to guard, protect, preserve" (Kow. 1325b). The collective function of the suffix *-sun/-sün* (with implication of plurality in some cases, and of a subset of a larger group in others) is not discussed in existing grammars (for other meanings of the suffix see Poppe §§137, 267 and Grønbech and Krueger, §§24d, 55), but is quite common in Mongolian literature, including the *Secret History* (see for example Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages*, 86/336). In the present case Mo. *-sun* renders the Tibetan plural suffix *-rnams*, while *-γul* translates the agent suffix *-ma*.

66. The form *C̤ambudwib* is a partially re-Sanskritized form of earlier *Čambudwib* (for which see above, n. 27). Presumably the original translation had *c̤* throughout, and the occasional omissions of the extra stroke that defines the *galig* letter *c̤* are the result of subsequent copying errors.

67. "Those of devil-origins" translates Mo. *simnus-un iǰaγur-tan*. This is a less than satisfactory rendering of the Tibetan, however; the Tibetan reads *bdud-kyi ris*, "the party of Māra," that is, the forces of evil, personified in Buddhist literature as Māra, the Buddhist devil.

68. See note 55 above.

69. The xylograph reads *tendeče*, "from there" or "then, thereupon." I assume this is a copying error for *tende*, "to there" (the corresponding Tibetan text reads *dam-pa'i chos gang-du dar-bar 'gro-bar 'gyur*, "[they] will go to wherever the exalted Dharma is spreading"). A Mongolian copyist may have been distracted by the verbal form *delgerebesü*, and assumed that this should be a temporal rather than a locative construction. The entire phrase is patterned slavishly on the Tibetan, and does not reflect the usual sentence structure of Mongolian.

70. This entire sentence (clearly the result of a copyist's error) has no counterpart in any of the Tibetan versions, and should be removed.

71. "Rule of the Dharma" translates Mo. *nom-un törö*, in which Mo. *törö* "law, rule" is intended as the equivalent of Tib. *gzhung*. One of the meanings of this Tibetan term is indeed "government" (Das 1082a), but here it almost certainly carries another meaning, that of "literary works, (religious) texts" (in which sense it is used to render such Sanskrit terms as *grantha* and *śāstra*; see Das 1082a, and for the former only see also *Mvy*. nos. 1466, 7673). The Tibetan expression *chos-kyi gzhung-bzhin* is thus to be taken as "in accordance with the Dharma-texts," a meaning which cannot be extracted from the Mongolian.

72. "Those who possess the *siddhis*" translates Mo. *siddhi-ten*, a plural in *-n* of *siddhi-tü*, "one who possesses supernormal powers (*siddhi*)" (cf. Lessing 698a, s.v. *siditü*). In *siddhi* we have a fully re-Sanskritized form of earlier *sidi* (for which see Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, vol. V, p. 390, and for the form *siditen* vol. IV, p. 262). Mo. *sidi* is itself a borrowing from Uig. *sidi* (*DTS* 490a).

73. On the "four colors" see note 10 to the Tibetan version.

74. "Small" translates Mo. *üčüken*, a word I have supplied on the basis of the Tibetan text, which reads *chung-bar 'gyur-ro*, "will become small." The Mongolian has simply *bolǰu*, "becoming," which makes no sense at all. I assume that the omission of the word *üčüken* was simply the result of a copying error.

75. Literally "illness [hend.] and famine [hend.] will come into being with respect to people [and] animals." The Tibetan has *mi-nad dang / phyugs-nad dang / mu-ge yang 'byung-bar 'gyur-ro*, "human sickness (*mi-nad*) and animal sickness (*phyugs-nad*) and famine (*mu-ge*) will arise." I have not translated the word *nom-ud* "dharmas" (line 62 of the Mongolian text), which has no equivalent in the Tibetan and should be removed. What could have led the Mongolian translator (or copyist) to insert this word is not immediately evident.

76. I have taken Mo. *ebedčin tayul* as a synonym compound meaning "(human and animal) sickness." The term *tayul* appears to be identical with the simple verbal stem *tayul* - ("passer" etc., Kow. 1591a). If the term is indeed related to the verb *tayul-*, it probably has the specific sense of "diarrhea" (for which one would rather have expected the deverbal noun form *tayulγa*; see Kow 1591a, Less. 766b).

77. "Famine" translates the synonym compound *Jud turqan*, lit. "famine and starvation," which here corresponds to Tib. *mu-ge* "famine" (Das 966b). Of these terms the former is a loan word from Uig. *yut*, a word whose root meaning appears to be "weather so severe that it kills livestock" but which has a variety of extended meanings, including lack of grazing and (resulting) human and animal disease (*EDT* 883b). The word is abundantly attested in Mongolian, where it has acquired an even wider range of meanings, including "calamity" (especially that due to weather), "disease," "starvation," and even "poverty, unhappiness" (for the latter see K. M. Cheremisov and G. N. Rumyantsev, *Mongol'sko-russkiĭ slovar' (po sovremennoĭ presse)*, ed. N. Poppe [Leningrad: Leningradskogo Vostochnogo Instituta, 1937], p. 497a; cf. Kow. 2385a and Lessing 1077a). Curiously, in the Ordos dialect the word *DžụD* is restricted to the meaning "epizootics" (and is so translated by Cleaves in his study of the *Bodistw-a Čari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur*; see his quotation of Mostaert's letter in "Bodhi," p. 127, section (3) of note 338). In the Buddhist literature, however, the word *Jud* (like the synonym compound *Jud turqan*) most often corresponds to Tib. *mu-ge*, "famine."

The word *turqan* is far less well attested, and seems not to occur in isolation; it is not registered as such in existing western-language dictionaries, and the only examples I have been able to locate thus far are in the synonym compound with *Jud*. The term has been transcribed in various ways: as *turγan* by Ligeti (*Catalogue*, p. 168, line 12 and again on the last line of p. 303) and as *dorγan* by Cleaves ("Bodhi," pp. 126-128, n. 338), the latter on the strength of the transcription given in the *ManJu ügen-ü toli bičig* and in the *Mongγol nanggiyad üsüg-ün toli bičig*, both cited by Mostaert in the letter quoted by Cleaves ("Bodhi," p. 127, last two lines). The term adduced by Mostaert, however, is in fact spelled *dorγon*, not *dorγan*, and would appear to be a different word, registered in Kowalewski (1893a, where it is transcribed *dorghon*) with the definitions "un manque, déficit; insuffisant, incomplet; indigent, pauvre," and in Lessing (262b, s.v. *dorγun*) with the definitions "lack, deficit; insufficient, incomplete; indigent, poor."

In determining the correct transcription of the term the entries given in the Tibeto-

Mongolian dictionary of Ye-shes rdo-rje are of particular value, since the Tibetan script distinguishes clearly between *d* and *t*, *q* and *γ*, and *o* and *u*. For the Tibetan word *mu-ge* (p. 412b, line 3 from bottom) Ye-shes rdo-rje lists as Mongolian equivalents the words *thẉar-ḥang* (in Tibetan script, ཐྭར་ཧང་) and *tsẉad* (ཙྭད་). In Ye-shes rdo-rje's transcription system the Tibetan-script letter *th* (ཐ) is used for Mo. *t*, the combination of *wa-zur* ྭ(ྭ) plus the vowel *a* for Mo. *u* (reserving the Tibetan letter *u* for Mo. *o*), the letter *h* (ཧ) for Mo. *q* (in back-vowel words), and the unaspirated *ts* (ཙ) for Mo. *J*. Thus the terms in question are to be read as *turqang* and *Jud*, respectively, with the final *-ng* of *turqang* simply reflecting a nasalized pronunciation of final *-n*.

With the correct spelling in hand, it is relatively straightforward to determine the etymology of *turqan*. A verbal root *tura-* "to starve, become thin" is well attested in the classical language (defined in Kow. 1880b as "maigrir, s'épuiser", and in Lessing 843b as "to be[come] lean, emaciated; to lose weight; to be[come] exhausted, worn out"). With this we may compare the preclassical form *turu-* found in the *Secret History* (see the entries *turuju*, *turun*, *turuqat*, *turuqsan-i*, and *turu'ai* in de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 324) as well as in *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha* (see the entries *turubai*, *turuγsan*, and *turuJu* in Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, Vol. V, p. 449). The root *turu-* (or for that matter *tura-*) cannot , however, yield a form *turqan* without losing the final vowel of the root, a procedure which is not known to occur in Mongolian word-formation. In Uighur, however, we find a verbal root of the same meaning without a final vowel, in the form *tur-* "to be, or become, weak or emaciated" (*EDT* 530b). Indeed the Mongolian verb *tura-* ~ *turu-* is considered to be a loan word from Turkish by Clauson (*loc. cit.*). The form *turqan* as such does not appear in either *EDT* or *DTS*, but a deverbal noun suffix *-γan/-gen* (properly a present participle indicating repeated or habitual action; see *EDT*, p. xliv) is well attested. Thus we may postulate the development of *tur-* + *-γan* → **turγan* in Turkish, from which the Mongols borrowed the word, altering its pronunciation to the form *turqan* registered by Ye-shes rdo-rje. The West Mongolian form *turaqa(n)* "thin, lean, emaciated" given in L. V. Clark, "Mongol Elements in Old Turkic?" (*JSFOu* 75 [1977]), p. 157 §87 is presumably a further development of the same word; since there is no deverbal noun suffix **-qan* in Mongolian, we must still resort to the Turkish for a suitable etymology.

78. For the expression *ayaγ-q-a tegimlig* (a loan from Uighur, in which the expression means "worthy of respect"; see *EDT* 270a) see Pentti Aalto, "Ayaγqa tegimlig," in

Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag am 8. August 1957, = Ural-Altaische Bibliothek, V (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957), pp. 17–22. The term has a much wider range of use in Uighur (where it serves as the equivalent of such Sanskrit terms as *arhant* and *bhadanta*, and is used as an epithet of the Buddha as well as of monks and bodhisattvas) than in Mongolian, where it has come to mean simply "monk." This restrictive interpretation was aided by the Mongols' (erroneous) assumption that the term was etymologically related to *ayaγa* "begging bowl" (cf. the standard Tibetan term for monk, *dge-slong*, lit. "virtuous beggar," and the corresponding Sanskrit *bhikṣu*, "beggar, mendicant" < √*bhikṣ* "to wish, beg for" [MW 756b]), itself a loan word from Uig. *ayaq* "vessel, cup, bowl" (*EDT* 270a-b).

79. "Profit" translates Mo. *asiγ olǰa*, a synonym compound consisting of *olǰa* (from *ol-* "to find, obtain" plus the suffix *-ǰa*, a deverbal noun suffix indicating the results of actions, for which see Poppe, *Grammar*, §158) and *asiγ*, a loan word from Uig. *asïγ* "profit, advantage" (*EDT* 244b). For *asiγ* as such (in the sense of "interest [on a loan]") see F. W. Cleaves, "An Early Mongolian Loan Contract from Qara Qoto," *HJAS* 18 (1955), pp. 1-53 (p. 30, n. 12).

80. Note the use of the accusative suffix *-i* with *kiged*, strictly speaking a *converbum perfecti* (for which see Poppe, *Grammar*, §364) < *ki-* "do, make," but being used already by the time of the *Secret History* in the sense of "and" or "as well as" (for references see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 259a-b, s.v. *ki'et*). The use of *kiged* with case endings is not attested in the *Secret History*, but does occur elsewhere in the preclassical literature (see Ligeti, *Indices Verborum*, III, p. 194, and V, p. 284). In the Kanǰur texts the form *kiged-i* is quite regular. The word also occurs with other case endings, e.g. the comitative (*-lüge*) and genitive (*-ün*); see for example Ligeti, *Indices*, V, p. 284. Clearly in these instances *kiged* is no longer perceived as a true verbal form, but is rather treated as a type of nominal collective similar in grammatical function to the word *terigüten*, which occurs in parallel expressions (*A B terigüten-i* "A, B and so on (acc.)"; *A B kiged-i* "A as well as B (acc.)").

81. "Fame [hend.]" translates Mo. *ner-e aldar*, lit. "name and renown."

82. Mo. *šaγšabad* is presumably a loan word from Uig. * *šaγšapat* (though this spelling is not registered in existing dictionaries) < Buddhist Sogd. *škš'pt* (MacKenzie, "Glossary," p. 86b). The older Mongolian forms, however (*čaγšabad* in the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* [Ligeti, *Indices*, IV, p. 76] and in the preclassical Buddhist fragments edited by Ligeti [*op. cit.*, II, p. 172]; *čiγšabd* in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*

[Cleaves, "Bodhi," p. 58]) are derived from the older Turkish form *čaxšapat* ~ *čaxšapt* (*EDT* 412b), which comes from Manichaean Sogdian *cxš'pt* ~ *cxš'pδ(δ)* < Parthian *cxš'byd*, revealing the distinctive Parthian sound change *š-* → *č-* discussed by Werner Sundermann in "A Parthian Sound-Change," *BSOAS*, 42 (1979), 131-136 (especially p. 135). A Buddhist Sogdian-based form in *š-* appears in the preclassical Mongolian literature as well; see the entry *šaγšabad* in Ligeti, *Indices*, V, p. 405.

83. "According to tradition" translates Mo. *törö yosuγar*, which in turn renders Tib. *tshul bzhin*, "in the [proper] manner" (cf. Das 1029b, *tshul-bzhin-du* "mannerly").

84. "Goods [hend.]" translates Mo. *ed tawar*, a well known borrowing from the Uighur, where the terms *ed* and *tavar* mean "inanimate property" and "livestock," respectively (*EDT*, 33a-b and 442b-443a). For a detailed discussion of some of the occurrences of this expression in preclassical Mongolian and their Chinese equivalents see Cleaves, "Bodhi," pp. 88-89, note 7.

85. "Property [hend.]" translates *kereg ǰaraγ*, a synonym compound of which both elements appear to be of Uighur origin. For Uig. *kerek* (< earlier *kergek*) "necessity, necessary" see *EDT* 742a-b, and for a possible antecedent of Mo. *ǰaraγ* see Uig. *yaraγ*, "opportunity, suitability, opportuneness" and in later dialects "preparations, equipment, provisions" (which Clauson prefers to connect with *yarïq*, "body armor"; see *EDT* 962a-b). The terms do not appear together, however, in any of the Turkish sources cited by Clauson. On the Mongolian usage see futher Cleaves, "Bodhi," pp. 103-104, n. 147.

86. "Command" translates Mo. *jarliγ* < Uig. *yarlïγ* (*EDT* 966b-967a), "command from a superior to an inferior." All the Tibetan versions I have consulted here read *gsang*, "secret, secret conversation" (Das 1302b). The Mongolian translator may have been working from a Tibetan text that appeared to read *gsung* "speech, precept" (Das 1306b).

87. "Temporal power" translates Mo. *qan törö*, lit. "the rule [of] the king," for which the Tibetan equivalent is *rgyal-srid*, "kingdom, realm" (Das 314b).

88. "Messengers [hend.]" translates Mo. *ǰarudasun elči*, a synonym compound of which the first element seems to have no attested form without the suffix *-sun* (see Kow. 2303b-2304a; for the suffix *-sun* see above, note 65). In the sense of "servant, slave" the word would seem to be related to the verb *ǰaru-* "prendre à son service, employer au service" etc. (Kow. 2303a), though this derivation would not account for the letter *-d-* of the nominal form. In the sense of "messenger, informant," however, I am inclined to connect the word with Tü. *yarut-* "to illumine, make bright; to enlighten,

inform" (*EDT* 960a-b). The Tibetan equivalent is *phrin-pa'i*, a genitive of *phrin-pa* "news, tidings, intelligence" (Das 844a). The word *elči* is a well known borrowing from Uig. *elči* "ambassador, envoy" (*EDT* 129a).

89. "Invective" translates Mo. *yenggüken*, a diminuitive in *-ken* < *yenggü(n)* "injure, gronderie, blâme" (Kow. 2310b). For *ǰenggü-* cf. Mostaert, *Sur quelques passages*, pp. 169/299-170/300, text and note 155.
90. "Order" translates Mo. *törö* "law, order," here the equivalent of Tib. *srid* "realm."
91. In *qaračus*, a plural in *-s* < *qaraču*, we have a formation derived from *qara* "black" + the denominal noun suffix *-ču*, used to form nouns designating social groups or classes (see Poppe, §115). The corresponding Tibetan passage has *'bangs* "subject[s]" (Das 916b).
92. "Trade and commerce" translates *qudaldu aralǰi*, a synonym compound in which both elements are nouns which are identical with the simple verbal stem (see Lessing 980a, *qudaldu-* "to barter, trade, do business; to sell," and 48b, *aralǰi-* "to exchange, change, interchange; to barter"; cf. Kow. 914a, 142a).
93. "Truly" translates Mo. *durabar*, lit. "according to [one's] desire," an instrumental in *-bar* < *dura(n)* "desire" (for which see Kow. 1879a-b). The combination of *dura* plus the instrumental ending is written *duraber* in both Kowalewski (1881a) and Lessing (274b). According to the rules of vowel harmony, however, the transcription should in fact be *durabar* (see Cleaves, "Téhéran," p. 72, n. 9 and "Bodhi," p. 89, n. 12). For the latter cf. the transcription *dura'ar* in the *Secret History* (for which see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 218b).
94. Mo. *olangkin* "many" is a plural in *-n* < *olangki* (for which see above, note 36; for the plural form see Ligeti in *AOH*, XVII (1964), p. 271, note 63). Note the agreement between the adjective and the noun *üges* "words," which is likewise in plural form.
95. "Immediate" translates Mo. *edüged-ün*, a genitive in *-ün* of *edüged*, itself a plural in *-d* of *edüge* "now." The term *edüged* is discussed in F. W. Cleaves, "The Mongolian Text of the Tri-lingual Inscription of 1640" (unpublished ms.), n. 281. Cf. also Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1362," p. 66, l. 37.
96. "[Political] order" translates Mo. *törö* (= Tib. *srid*); cf. above, note 90.
97. "Entire" translates *kelkü*, an ancient word meaning "all, whole." The word is not registered in Kowalewski or Lessing, but appears in the preclassical Buddhist fragments edited by Ligeti (see Ligeti, *Indices*, II, p. 190) and in the Chü-yung kuan inscription in the 'Phags-pa script in the form *gelk'u* (Ligeti, *Indices*, III, p. 44, s.v. *gelkü*; see Poppe, *Mongolian Monuments*, p. 155, n. 141). An alternate form,

kelekü, appears in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Schmidt, p. 106, line 15; see the comments by Mostaert, *ET*, I, p. 74).

98. I have reconstructed the word *ene* "this" in the Mongolian text (line 73) on the basis of the Tibetan, which reads *'di-ltar*, "in this way," which should correspond to Mongolian *ene metü* ("like this").

99. "Distinguish in their minds" translates Mo. *qaγačaγul-un sedkin*, lit. "distinguishing, thinking."

100. "Merit" translates Mo. *buyan*, a loan word < Uig. *buyan*, id. The antecedent of the Uighur form (which shows metathesis of *n* ↔ *y*) < original Skt. *puṇya* "merit" (MW 632a-b) has not yet been determined with certainty; no source is suggested in either *EDT* (386a-b) or *DTS* (120b-121a), but cf. Shōgaito p. 104, n. 53, where the Sogdian (*pwny'n*) and the Tokharian A (*pñi*) forms are given.

101. For Mo. *erdeni* (~ *erdini*) "jewel" < Uig. *ärdini* (~ *ärdäni*) < Sogd. *rtny* < Skt. *ratna* see Cleaves, "Bodhi," pp. 96-97, n. 71.

102. "Materials" translates Mo. *aγurasun*, a collective in *-sun* (for which see above, n. 65) of **aγura(n)*, a form not registered as such in Kowalewski (38a) and listed only as "aγur-a" in Lessing, where it is defined as "same as aγurasu(n)" (18a). The collective form of the word is amply attested in the *Secret History*, where it is glossed as "satin" (see Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 10, s.v. *a'urasu(n)*, cf. de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 188b, s.v.v. *a'urasu*, *a'urasun* and *a'urasut* [sic!]). In the classical language the word acquired a wider range of meanings, including material goods in general as well as "belongings, heritage, fortune" (see Kow. and Less., *loc. cit.*). In the present instance Mo. *aγurasun* translates Tib. *rdzas* "article, [material] thing; possessions, belongings" (Das 1057b).

103. "*Saṃghas*" translates Mo. *quwaraγ-ud*, a plural in *-ud* of *quwaraγ* "assembly," a borrowing from Uig. *quvraγ* "crowd, gathering" (*EDT* 585a-b), itself a deverbal noun in *-γ* from the verb *quvra-* "to come together, assemble" (*EDT* 586a). In Uighur, as in Mongolian, the term has the specific connotation of "Buddhist (monastic) community." The corresponding Tibetan text has only the (implicitly) singular form *dge-'dun*.

104. "Certainly" translates Mo. *ǰöb ǰöb*, a reduplication of the word *ǰöb* "bien, convenablement, justement" (Kow. 2410a). The corresponding Tibetan passage, however, reads *khad-kyis* "gradually" (Das 139a). The Mongolian translation is presumably not erroneous, since the word *ǰöb* (in Tibetan script ཛོབ་) is given as one of the definitions of Tib. *khad-kyis* in Ye-shes rdo-rje's dictionary (p. 54b)

Perhaps there is a second, as yet unregistered Mongolian word *Jöb* meaning "gradual, slow," but I have no textual evidence other than the present occurrence to support such an inference.

105. For the expression *körög bey-e* "image" see above, n. 46.
106. For Mo. *suburγa(n)* "stūpa, Buddhist memorial mound" < Uig. *suburγan* (where the term has the more generalized meaning of "tomb") < Sogd. **zmrγn* (the latter according to W.B. Henning, *Transactions of the Philological Society* [London], 1945, pp. 157ff.) see Louis Ligeti, "Le mérite d'ériger un stūpa et l'histoire de l'élephant d'or," in Louis Ligeti, ed., *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium*, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, Vol. XXIII (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), pp. 223-284 (pp. 265-269).
107. Instead of *tegün-ü buyan-u* "of their merit" one would rather have expected an instrumental construction (e.g., *tegün-ü buyan-iyar* "by their merit"); all the Tibetan versions consulted for this edition read *de'i bsod-nams-kyis*, "by their merit". The confusion between *-kyi* (genitive) and *-kyis* (instrumental) suffixes is extremely common in Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs, and the Mongolian translator may have been working from a Tibetan copy in which *-kyi* was written in place of *-kyis*. For *buyan* itself see above, n. 100.
108. "Rain [hend.]" translates Mo. *qur-a usun*, lit. "rain water." The expression is not really Mongolian, but simply a literal rendition of Tib. *char-chu* ("rain water").
109. The expression *kümün bügüde čadqulang* apparently means "the people all [being] satiated," though it is difficult to explain why there is no verb. The corresponding Tibetan passage reads *mi-rgyags-la* "to the fattened people" (*rgyags* apparently being a form of *rgyag-pa*, "fat, well fed", for which see Roerich, II, 236a). This expression is actually the result of a copying error, however (or a deliberate correction?) for earlier *mi-phyugs-la*, "to men and animals" (the reading preserved in T, B and N).
110. For *ebedčin taγul* see above, note 76.
111. "Happy" translates Mo. *jirγaγči*, an agent noun in *-γči* < *Jirγa-* "to rejoice" (see Kow. 2366b). A more fluent translation of the Tib. *bde-ba-dag* ("those who are happy, prosperous") would have been *Jirγaltu* ~ *Jirγalangtu* "happy, prosperous" (for which see Kow. 2367b and a, respectively), or to indicate the plural Tib. suffix *-dag*, *Jirγaltan* ~ *Jirγalangtan*. The Mongolian translator, however, fell into the mechanical rendition of the nominal suffix *-pa/-ba* as an agent noun; for another example see above, n. 49.

112. "Many" translates *olangkin*, a plural in *-n* of *olangki* "many," here used as a noun. For *olangki* see above, n. 36 and for the plural, n. 94.

113. "Remained" translates Mo. *orosiγsan*, which in turn renders Tib. *gnas-pa* "one who lives," "one who dwells."

114. "Will experience" translates *kürtekü bolumui*, a compound future form in which the future verbal noun *kürtekü* is a passive in *-te-* (see Poppe, *Grammar*, §231) < *kür-* "to arrive; to meet with, obtain" (Kow. 2653b).

115. For *enedkeg* "India" < Uig. *änätkäk* < Sogd. **'yntk'k* see von Gabain, *ATG*, p. 324a.

116. In translating Tib. *rgya-gar dang rgya-ma-yin-pa'i* as *enedkeg kiged busu-ača* "[three kings] from India and elsewhere" the Mongolian translator has opted for one of two equally plausible understandings of the Tibetan, the other being "[three] non-Indian and non-Chinese [kings]." The determination of the original meaning of this passage is of crucial importance in establishing the time and place of composition of the text; for further discussion see note 11 to the Tibetan version.

117. The ethnic names, transcribed in the Mongolian as *Yau-a-na* "Greeks," *Ba-lhii-ka* "Bactrians" (from Tib. *ba-lhi-ka*, a hypercorrection of earlier *pa-la-ba* "Parthian"; see note 12 to the Tibetan version), and *Šakun-a* "Sakas" (a somewhat problematic spelling for which see above, p. 64, n. 128 and p. 77, n. 148) are all direct transcriptions from the Tibetan. Note that Tib. *Ya-ba-na* "Greeks" is transcribed in the Mongolian in two different ways: here as *Yau-a-na* (the combination *u-a* being the standard way of treating Tib. *-ba* when the latter represents a nominal suffix, in which case it is pronounced "wa"), and below (line 113) as *Yawan-a*. These ethnic names are taken as personal names in the Tibetan text (and accordingly in the Mongolian), a clear indication that by the time of the original Tibetan translation their historical identity had been forgotten.

118. In *ede γurbaγula* "these three" note the agreement between the plural adjective and the plural (or, strictly speaking, collective) form of the number.

119. "Kingdoms" translates *ulus irgen-i*, lit. "country [and] people (acc.)." For an extended discussion of this expression see Cleaves, "The Tri-lingual Inscription of 1640," n. 142 , and Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime Social*, p. 127.

120. Lit. "having set them afire with fire" (*γal-iyar tüimerdeged*). The verb *tüimerde-* is itself a deverbal noun in *-de-* (for which see Poppe, *Grammar*, §242) from *tüimer*, "[forest or steppe] fire; wildfire" (Kow. 190b; Less. 851b).

121. This translation is dependent on an emendation of the text (from *quwaraγ-ud* to

quwaraγ-un), based on the Tibetan *dge-'dun-gyi* "of the *samgha*" (line 90). A literal translation of the Mongolian as it stands would read "the *samghas* [will] pillage and use up property [hend.] as well as the goods of the Three Jewels," giving a sense entirely different from that of the Tibetan.

122. "Wipe out" translates *samsiyaǰu*, a *converbum imperfecti* < *samsiya-*, itself a factitive in *-ya-* < *samsi-* "to be wiped out, used up, suffer loss" (Kow. 1319a; not in Lessing). The factitive suffix *-ya-/-ye-* is not registered as such in Poppe, *Grammar*, but cf. Grønbech and Krueger, §41, where *-ya-/-ye-* is treated as an alternate form of the causative suffix *-γa-/-ge-*. It is my suspicion, however, that the suffix *-ya-/-ye-* is not a true causative, but is rather another form (used with verbal roots ending in *i*) of the factitive *-γa-/-ge-* discussed in Poppe, *Grammar*, §224, a suffix which *can* have causative implications but whose basic function is to create transitive verbs from intransitive ones, or to strengthen the transitive sense of an already transitive verb. In the present case the argument for viewing *-ya-/-ye-* as a factitive rather than a true causative is strengthened by the fact that both *samsi-* and *samsiya-* occur with the explicitly causative suffix *-γul-* (see Kow. 1319a-b, s.vv. *samsiγulqu* and *samsiyaγulqu*, respectively). Both *samsi-* and *samsiya-* are attested already in the *Secret History;* see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 303a, s.vv. *samsiju'u* and *samsiyaba*, respectively; for *samsiya-* see also the preclassical Buddhist fragments edited by Ligeti (*Index*, II, p. 203) and the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (Ligeti, *Index*, IV, p. 252). An apparently isolated derivative of the same verb is also registered in old Turkish; see *EDT* 830b s.v. *samsït-*, presumably a causative in *-t-* < **samsi-*.

123. Again the Mongolian text shows agreement between plural adjective and plural noun, in the phrase *ede γurban qad*, "these three kings."

124. "Having fought" translates *kereldüged*, a *converbum perfecti* < *kereldü-*, itself a reciprocal in *-ldü-* from *kere-* "to fight," a verb not registered in Lessing or Kowalewski but attested in the *Secret History* (see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 253b, s.v. *kereǰü*, and Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 99, where the word is erroneously transcribed as *keregu*). In the *Secret History* the term occurs in the expression *noqai kerel kereǰü* (de Rachewiltz, *Index*, lines 6833-6901 [*sic*]), translated "fighting dogfights" by Cleaves (*Secret History*, p. 122 and note 37).

125. "In various ways" translates Mo. *eldeb ǰüil-iyer*. It is possible that a word has been dropped in copying; the corresponding Tibetan text has *gnod-pa sna-tshogs-kyis* "by harm (*gnod-pa*) [of] various sorts (*sna-tshogs*)," for which one would have expected an Mongolian expression such as *eldeb ǰüil qoor-iyar*, "by various types [of] harm."

126. For "counsel" (Mo. *eyeben*, a reflexive-possessive accusative in *-ben* [Poppe, *Grammar*, §311] < *eye*, defined as "paix, concorde, amitié" in Kow. 227a, but translated as "counsel" in several instances by Cleaves in the *Secret History*, where the Chinese text glosses the word as 商量 "Einverständnis, gemeinsamer Beschluss, Verabredung" [Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 48]) the corresponding Tibetan text has *nang-srid* "internal policy, domestic affairs" (see Roerich, V, p. 33b). For *eye* as such see further Ligeti, "Les Fragments," p. 270, n. 62, and Cleaves, "A Mongolian Rescript," pp. 193-194, n. 15.

127. Note the use of the spelling *čirig* "army" where one would expect *čerig* (Kow. 2128a) in the classical language. This shift from *e* → *i* and vice versa (see the entires *čerig, čireg* and *čirig* in the Index to the Mongolian Text, and note 128 below), together with certain other features (e.g., note 139) suggests that the text may have been translated (or at least copied) by someone familiar with one of the East Mongolian dialects.

128. "Take control of" translates *eǰileyü*, for which one would rather expect *eǰeleyü* (< *eǰele-*, a denominal verb in *-le-* [Poppe, *Grammar*, §245] < *eǰen* "lord, master"; see Kow. 225b and 224b, respectively). The writing of *eǰin* for *eǰen* is typical of the East Mongolian dialects, including Ordos; see Mostaert, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, I, p. 66. For other examples of this phenomenon in our text cf. above, n. 127.

129. The spelling of "Gandhāra" in the Mongolian version – where the word is transcribed *wgandar* [sic!] – provides striking evidence for the ancestry of the text. Of the seven Tibetan versions consulted, only P1 (line 95, note 1, *Bgan-da-ra*) offers a possible antecedent of this Mongolian spelling. The initial *b-* of this transcription is presumably a copying error for earlier *'a-chung* (འ), found in both the Tunhuang and the Narthang versions. (The shift from *'a-chung* to *ba* would have caused no alteration in the pronunciation of the word, since both initials serve to retain the voiced quality of the letter *ga*.) By the time the P3 edition was produced this error had been corrected; the P3 copy reads *'Gan-da-ra*. Note also the absence of the final vowel *a* in the Mongolian transcription; this is a common error in Mongolian translations based on Tibetan originals, where the syllable divider · (*tsheg*) is easy to overlook.

130. "Mādhyadeśa" (lit. "middle country") is the underlying Sanskrit form behind Mo. *dumdadu ulus*, lit. "middle country," an expression often used to mean "China" (where it serves as the equivalent of Ch. *chung-kuo* 中國), but here referring to that portion of north central India known as Mādhyadeśa.

131. This passage is of considerable importance in localizing the original composition of the text. For discussion see above, p. 65, n. 132.

132. The spelling *Kowa'd-šambi* is the result of a copying error, in which the letter *u* following the Mongolian transcription of the Tibetan *'a-chung* was misread as a letter *d*. This mistake was probably due to a copyist's misreading of the internal *'a-chung* in *kowa'u* as a Mongolian *g*, which could not be followed by a separately written *u*. Cf. below, line 153, where the word is correctly carved as *Kowa'u-šambi*.

133. The spelling *čaγaγan-a*, which is not registered in Kowalewski (2084a) or Lessing (158a), is apparently a variant of *čaγan-a*, "plus loin, au-delà-de, derrière, après" (Kow. 2084a). The corresponding Tibetan text has *pha-rol*, "beyond, across; the other (side)" (cf. Das 817a-b).

134. Note the use of the emphatic particle *či* (*ču* in the modern language) following the word *emün-e*, "south."

135. The spelling of this name in Mongolian as *Mahindr-a-sin-a* (< Tib. *Ma-hen-dra-se-na* [in the xylograph editions] < Skt. *Mahendrasena*) shows the usual rendering of Sanskrit and Tibetan *e* as Mo. *i* in the *galig* script (see Appendix 4).

136. Xyl. *Dusbr-a-sa-hasta* (see *Index Verborum* for variants). The Mongolian follows the newer Tibetan xylograph editions as against the Tun-huang and Narthang versions. Tib. *Duṣprasahasta* is, however, the result of a hypercorrection of original *Duṣprasaha*. For further details see Appendix 1, "Proper Names," no. 3.

137. Note the inconsistency in the application of the genitive *-yin* before *jaγur-a* "interval" (cf. above, line 10, where the expression *anisq-a jaγur-a* occurs without the genitive, and below, line 124, where the same expression is written with the genitive). With this inconsistency we may compare the similar vacillation in the use of *qoyin-a* (above, note 43).

138. The word *buγuča* appears to be a corruption of an earlier **buγui-ača* (or **buγuiča*), "from the wrist." The form *buγui* is not registered in Kowalewski, where we find only the entries *boγo* ("bracelet, anneau," 1160a) and *buγuu* ("bracelet, ornement du poignet," 1160b), but cf. Less. 131a, where the form *buγui* is given with a cross-reference to *baγui* (71b), "forearm, wrist; bracelet." The corresponding Tibetan text has *mkhrig-ma* (~ *khrig-ma* ~ *khrig-pa*), "wrist" (Das 185b), which is defined in Ye-shes rdo-rje's Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary as བུ་གུའི་ (*bu-gu'i*), clearly the equivalent of the form *buγui* given in Lessing. The Mongolian text lacks any equivalent of the Tib. *man-chad*, "below, downwards from" (line 102); I have supplied the missing word *doroγsida* (line 102), which I assume was simply omitted

in copying, on the basis of the parallel expression *γar-un toqai-ača doroγsida*, "from the elbow of the arm downwards" in line 99 above. The word *doroγsida* in turn requires a preceding ablative suffix.

139. Note the translation of Tib. *rta* "horse" as *aduγu*, not *mori(n)*. The use of *aduγu(n)* rather than *mori(n)* in this sense is typical of the East Mongolian dialects, including Ordos (F. W. Cleaves, personal communication, 1986).

140. Note the use of the converb in *-n* in the expression *kelelen čidaγči*, "[a foal] who is able to speak." In the classical language (and in the modern dialects) the verb *čida-* "to be able" is more frequently construed with converbs in *-ču/-čü* ~ *-ǰu/-ǰü* than in *-n*; in the preclassical language, however, the use of *-n* + *čida-* is standard. For converbs in *-n* with the verbal root *čida-* in the *Secret History* see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, lines 1703, 4204, 4408, 5515, 6529, 6615, and 7421. The vast majority of occurrences of the verb *yada-* "to be unable" in the *Secret History* are likewise construed with converbs in *-n*; see the numerous entries in de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 338a-b. Note that both verbs can also be used alone, without any subordinate converb; in this case *čida-* becomes a transitive verb meaning "to be able to overcome [someone or something]" (for which see note 156 below), while *yada-* remains an intransitive verb having the sense of "to be in a situation in which one is unable to do anything at all," or – as regularly translated by Cleaves in the *Secret History* – "to be in a strait."

141. For Tib. *drang-srong-gi mkhan-po* ("sage-preceptor," the equivalent of Skt. *ṛṣyupadhyāya*) the Mongolian uses the Indian-based forms *arsi ubadiy-a*. Both are presumably borrowed from the Uighur. The word *arši* is attested in Uighur (e.g., *DTS* 55b); I have not yet been able to locate a reference to an Uighur form **upadiya*, but the spelling of the Mongolian term is congruent with that of Indian loan words obtained from Uighur.

142. The five *abhijñās* or "supernatural insights" are the divine eye, the divine ear, knowing the thoughts of others, remembering one's previous births, and magical power (*ṛddhi*). The more usual list adds to these five a sixth, the knowledge of the extinction of the outflows (*āśrava-kṣaya*). For the entire list as given in Sanskrit and Tibetan sources see *Mvy.* nos. 201-209.

143. "Little sons" translates *köbegüked*, a plural in *-d* < *köbegüken*, a diminutive in *-ken* of *köbegün*, "son." The corresponding Tibetan text has simply *bu*, "son[s]." For a discussion of the meaning of this term in other contexts see Poppe, *Twelve Deeds*, p. 77, note to line 3 of F6r.

144. Mo. *nökōd*, a plural in *-d* of *nökör* "companion," translates the Tib. *'khor* "retinue."
145. I assume that the word "foal" (Mo. *unaγa*) has been omitted in copying.
146. "Will soak" translates Mo. *Jōgedgekü bolumui*, a compound future of a verb **Jōgedge-*, a word not attested in existing dictionaries. The corresponding Tibetan text has *gsher-bar byed-par 'gyur-ro*, a causative future of *gsher-ba*, "to get thoroughly wet, to be drenched, to be moistened" (Das 1250b). For "to moisten" Hangin, *EMD*, 142b gives a verbal form чийгтүүлэх, which would correspond to written Mongolian *čigigtegülkü*, registered in Less. 179b (s.v. CIGIGTEGYL-) as the causative of *čigigte-* (CIGIGTE-) "to become damp, wet, moist or humid" and in Kow. 2180b with the definition "humecter, rendre humide." Moreover, for the intransitive (though not the causative) form of the verb Kowalewski gives the Tibetan equivalent *gsher-ba yin-pa*, "to be moist," a construction employing the same verb as used in our Tibetan text. (Ye-shes rdo-rje does not register the verb *gsher-ba*, but gives as the Mongolian equivalent of Tib. *gsher* "moist" the word ཆི་འིག་ [*či'ig*], corresponding to the form *čigig* given in Kow. 2179.) A verb **Jōgedge-* with this meaning, however, is nowhere attested.
147. The Mongolian text reads *čisud*, a plural in *-d* of *čisu(n)* "blood."
148. At this point the Tibetan text begins a series of sporadic lapses from the prophetic future tense into the narrative past (see Chapter 2, "The Tibetan Version," pp. 154-155). The Mongolian translation follows the Tibetan exactly in this regard, despite the resulting incongruities in tense; to give the reader an accurate impression of the sense of the Mongolian text, I have continued this tradition, rendering the Mongolian into English just as it is without trying to mask these discrepancies.

    In the present case the Mongolian text has the rather unexpected form *ügüleJü* (a *converbum imperfecti* < *ügüle-* "speak") for the finite form *smras-so* ("[he] spoke") of the Tibetan. It is possible that this Mongolian reading is the result of a copying error for an earlier *ügüleyü.* or (perhaps more likely) *ügüleJüküi.*
149. Mo *eng terigün*, "first of all" (Less. 317b) translates Tib. *thog-ma* "what is uppermost; first, earliest; origin" etc. (Das 592a). The nuance of the Mongolian differs slightly from that of the Tibetan, which I would read as "When twelve years had passed since that prince was first born."
150. On the variant spellings of Skt. *Yavana* in the Mongolian text see above, note 117.
151. One would expect *olan čerig*, not *čerig olan*, which follows the Tibetan word order.
152. Lit. "[his] desire (*duran*) being troubled (*γutuJu*)." Cf. the parallel expression *sedkil γutu-* "to be troubled [in one's] thought" (notes 154 and 155 below).

153. Note that in place of the standard classical form *asaγu-* "ask" our text uses the older *asaγ-* (for which see Mostaert, *Erdeni-yin tobči*, I, p. 73; cf. Schmidt, *Geschichte*, p. 170, line 15 and passim.). Based on the present case alone the verbal root would be indeterminate, since the suffix *-r-un* is preceded by the union vowel *u* when added to a verbal root ending in a consonant; that the root used here is indeed *asaγ-* and not *asaγu-*, however, is confirmed by the forms *asaγsuγai* and *asaγbasu* in lines 242 and 243 below. The *Secret History* reflects a stage of the language in which the word was in the process of losing an original initial *h-*; both *asaq-* and *hasaq-* are attested in the *Secret History*, but with the former clearly predominating (see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, pp. 186a-b, 232b).

154. Note the use of the agent-noun suffix *-γči* in the expression *ene metü sedkil γutuγči*, lit. "one who is troubled [in] thought like this." The use of the agent-noun suffix where one would rather expect an abstract noun (e.g., *sedkil γutuqu inu*) is a distinguishing feature of this Mongolian translation, and is probably due to the translator's difficulty with the multivalent Tibetan nominal suffix *-pa/-ba*, which is used (*inter alia*) to form both agent and abstract nouns. For other instances of the misuse of the agent-noun suffix cf. above, notes 49 and 111.

155. The king uses the first-person plural possessive pronoun (i.e., the royal "we") in reference to himself in the phrase *sedkil manu γutumui*, lit. "our thought is troubled." Note the contrast between the inclusive first-person plural pronoun in the expression *bidan-u ulus-tur* "into our country" (i.e., the country of both the king and his son) and the exclusive *manu* in this expression (where it refers to the king alone).

156. The verb *čida-* alone, construed with a direct object in the accusative case, has the sense of "to be able to handle, defeat, take on" (see Kow. 2154b).

157. One would have expected *tabun Jaγun köbegün terigüten-i*, "five hundred sons and so on (acc.)"; apparently the Mongolian translator felt constrained to represent the Tibetan *la-sogs-te* "and so on" (here technically a verbal form, in place of the usual nominal expression *la-sogs-pa*) by *terigülen* rather than *terigüten*, and consequently being unable to attach the accusative suffix to the verbal form *terigülen*, was forced to move it back to the word *köbegün*.

158. I have emended the text (on the basis of the Tibetan, which reads *dmag nyis-'bum bcas-te*, "together with 200,000 troops") from *qoyin-a* to *qorin* (line 123).

159. The word *dayilJu* (clearly visible in the xylograph) is presumably a copying or carving error for the expected *dayilaJu*, "being victorious," a *converbum imperfecti* from a verb *dayila-* "to conquer, be victorious" (Kow. 1552a, Less. 222a). No verb

**dayil-* is registered in either of these dictionaries, nor would one be expected to exist; the form *dayila-* is a denominal verb in *-la-* (for which see Poppe, *Grammar*, §245) < *dayi(n)* "enemy," a form rarely attested in the classical language except in the expression *dayin-i daruγsan*, "one who has slain the enemy" (i.e., "arhat," for which see above, note 14) but attested in preclassical texts such as the *Secret History* (de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 213b) and the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (see Ligeti, *Indices*, IV, p. 86, where the plural *dayid* and the collective *dayisun* and an apparent plural collective *dayisud* [sic] are also registered). In the preclassical literature the denominal verb *dayila-* is not so far attested; the alternate form *dayiǰi-* (formed with the denominal verb suffix *-ǰi-*, for which see Poppe, *Grammar*, §243) is used instead (see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 213b, and Ligeti, *Indices*, III, p. 146, s.v. *dayyiǰi-*).

160. In reading "kingdom" I have emended the Mongolian text (line 128) from *ene oron-i* to *qan oron-i* on the basis of the corresponding Tibetan passage, which reads *rgyal-srid*, i.e., "government, kingdom." Cf. also line 130 below (*qan oron-i köbegün-degen ögbei*, "he gave the kingdom to his son"). As it stands, the text reads "you take over this place of mine."

161. "As for me" translates Mo. *bi büged*, here the equivalent of Tib. *nga ni* "as for me." The word *büged* is technically a *converbum perfecti* in *-ged* < *bü-* "to be," and thus literally means "having been" (see Kow. 1243a). In Lessing (144b), Kowalewski (*loc. cit.*) and Poppe (*Grammar*, §433) the word is also defined as "and" (cf. the use of *kiged*, a *converbum perfecti* < *ki-* "to do, make," with the same meaning). In the Buddhist literature, however, *büged* is more frequently used as the equivalent of such Tibetan terms as *ni* (a topic-marker, generally translated "as for") and *nyid* (a self-referential particle meaning "itself, that very, the very one" and used as the equivalent of Skt. *eva*). The word *büged* is also used (as demonstrated by Friedrich Weller, "Anfragen eines Nichtmongolisten an den Mongolisten," *CAJ*, 3 [1957], pp. 23-59 [pp. 28-31]) – at least in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* – as the equivalent of Tib. *-nyid* when the latter functions as an abstract noun suffix (e.g. "-ness" in the word "emptiness," Tib. *stong-pa-nyid*). I have not been able to document the use of *büged* in this sense in any other text, however, and I suspect that the occurrences documented by Weller are simply the result of the Mongolian translator's mechanical equating of Mo. *büged* with Tib. *nyid*, regardless of the context. For further comments on Weller's analysis see N. Poppe, "Antworten auf Professor Fr. Wellers Fragen," *CAJ*, 7 (1962), pp. 42-59 (pp. 45-46).

162. I.e., "become a monk." Mo. *γarsuγai* is here the equivalent of Tib. *'byung-ngo*, lit.

"[I] shall arise," which has the connotation of renouncing the world to enter the monastic life. Note also the use of the Mongolian optative suffix *-suγai* to render the simple future of the Tibetan.

163. Lit. "instructing speaking" (*soyun ügülejü*). The entire phrase renders Tib. *bsgo-nas*, "having instructed" (cf. Das 343a).

164. Note the shift from the prophetic future to the past tense in the verb *ögbei*, "gave." In this respect the Mongolian text follows the late Tibetan xylograph editions, which read *byin-no* "[he] gave," a perfective (past-tense) form of the verb *sbyin-pa* "give" (Das 939a).

165. Lit. "made [them] not" (*ügei bolγabai*). Again the Mongolian follows the Tibetan (which has the perfective form *med-par byas-so*, "made [them] non-existent") in its choice of tense.

166. Lit. "there is one other displeasing thing" (*öber-e nigen ülü taγalaγči*). I have taken the word *nigen-e* "together" (line 136) to be a copying error for *nigen* "one."

167. The Mongolian follows the Tibetan exactly in using the humble form *öčibesü* (for Tib. *zhus-pa-dang*) in contrast to the ordinary form of the previous verb (Mo. *ügüler-ün*, for Tib. *smras-pa*).

168. Again the Mongolian follows the Tibetan slavishly here, resulting in a sentence whose structure strains Mongolian grammar to the limit.

169. One would expect the causative verb *arilγaqu* "to purify," not the intransitive *arilqu* "to become purified," with a direct object (*nigül-i*, "sin[s]") in the accusative case.

170. With the exception of the vowel *i* of the first syllable, which is presumably the result of a Mongolian copying error, the name *Bidali-butr-a* represents an exact transcription of Tib. *Ba-ta-li-bu-tra* (P1).

171. "That is to say" translates Mo. *kemer-ün* (= Tib. *-ste*, a verbal particle which when placed between two nouns or nominal phrases can have the function of expressing the identity of the two nominal elements). This is a rather anomalous use of this verbal form, but one which recurs in several other instances below (see lines 172, 173, 175 and 193). In the following lines, however (lines 142, 143) Tib. *-ste* is rendered by Mo. *büged* (see note 173).

172. On the double rendering (in both translation and transliteration) of this and subsequent proper names – a phenomenon which occurs in the later Tibetan xylograph editions but not in the Tun-huang and Narthang versions – see Chapter 2, "The Tibetan Version," pp. 149-153.

173. Here (line 142) and immediately below (line 143) the Mongolian text uses the term

büged o render the Tibetan *-ste*, "i.e., that is to say." (For other renderins of Tib. *-ste* in this text see above, note 171). For *büged* as such see above, n. 161.

174. The Tibetan term *sde-snod* (the usual equivalent of Skt. *piṭaka* "basket" in the sense of one of the three divisions of the Buddhist canon; see *Mvy.* nos. 1330, 1411) is regularly rendered in Mongolian as *sang nom* (Kow. 1289b), a compound composed of the Chinese loan word *sang* (< Uig. *tsang* ~ *sang* "granary, treasury" [*EDT* 555b, 831a] < Ch. *tsang* 藏, id.; for further details see Ligeti, "Les Fragments," p. 276 and n. 2) plus Mo. *nom* "Dharma," itself a loan word < Uig. *nom* < Manichaean and Christian (but not Buddhist) Sogd. *nwm* < Greek *nomos*, "law, order" (for this sequence see Cleaves, "Bodhi," p. 95, n. 53). That the Mongolian word for "Buddhism" should be a loan word from Greek speaks volumes about the trajectory followed by the Buddhist tradition en route from India to the Mongols, and underlines the necessity of devoting adequate attention to the non-Tibetan sources of Mongolian Buddhism.

175. The form of this proper name offers striking evidence of the close connection between the Mongolian text and version P3 of the Tibetan (or its immediate antecedent, P2). The Tibetan versions exhibit a wide variety of spellings of this name, ranging from *Shir-sha-ga* in the Tunhuang manuscript to *Shi-ṣya-ka* in the newest xylograph editions. Only in the P3 edition, however, is the name spelled with a vowel *u* in the second syllable, reading in most cases (including the present instance, line 143 of the Tibetan text) *Shi-ṣu-ka*. The Mongolian transcription of this name can therefore be based only on a text closely resembling P3.

176. Mo. *titsi* "student, disciple" < Tü. *titsi* "student" (and numerous variants) < Ch. *ti-tzu* 弟子 "disciple." For this derivation see von Gabain, *ATG*, 371a.

177. The word *aranyatan*, a term not registered in Kowalewski or Lessing, serves as the Mongolian equivalent of Tib. *dgon-pa*, "wilderness; monastery, vihāra, hermitage" (Das 275b). The Sanskrit equivalent of Tib. *dgon-pa* is *āraṇya* (*Mvy.* no. 2991), "being in or relating to a forest" (MW 149c). With the corresponding Sanskrit term in hand, the ancestry of the Mongolian word is easily visible; the word consists of Skt. *aranya* (possibly borrowed from Old Turkish, though the term is not registered in *DTS* or *EDT*) plus the Mongolian suffix *-tan*, a plural in *-n* of *-tai* ~ *-tu* "possessing" (see Poppe, *Grammar*, §139).

178. The verb *küre-* "invite" is not registered in existing dictionaries, but is found in preclassical texts including the *Secret History* (see de Rachewiltz, *Index*, p. 230b, s.v. *güreǰü*, and Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 53, s.v. *guregu*) and the *Twelve Deeds of*

Buddha (see Ligeti, *Indices*, V, p. 300, and Poppe, *Twelve Deeds*, p. 93, note to line 15 of F31r). Here Mo. *kürejü iregülüged* translates Tib. *spyan-drangs-nas*, "having invited [him]."

179. In *nigül kilinčes* we have a synonym compound of which each component means "sin." The word *kilinče* (here in the plural in *-s*) is a loan word from Tü. *qïlïnč* "deed, action" (*EDT* 623a). In Uighur usage the term can refer to either good or bad deeds, with the qualifying adjectives *ädgü* "good" and *ayïγ* "bad" commonly preceding it. In Mongolian, however, the term was adopted strictly in the sense of "evil deeds"; in this capacity it serves as the equivalent of Tib. *sdig* "sin" whether it occurs alone (as in line 148 below) or in synonym compound with *nigül*, as here. Note that in the oldest preclassical texts the word was still written in the form *qilinč* (e.g., in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* commentary, for which see Cleaves, "Bodhi," p. 111-112, n. 224), reflecting its Uighur origins. The word was subsequently adapted to the requirements of Mongolian phonology through the addition of a final vowel and with the adoption of the orthographic convention forbidding the writing of *q* + *i* in the early classical period the word came to be written *kilinča*, subsequently read (or misread) as *kilinče*.

180. Here again one would expect the transitive verb *arilγa-*, "to purify," not the intransitive *aril-* "to become pure," following the accusative expression *nigül kilinčes-i*. Cf. above, note 169.

181. Mo. *itegel yabuγulbasu*, lit. "if you cause [them] to go [as] a refuge."

182. In including the phrase "summoning all the monks in Jambudvīpa" (*Čambudwib-taki qamuγ ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd-i uriju*) the Mongolian translator has folowed the reading of Tibetan versions P1 and P3, which alone of the seven versions consulted contain this phrase (see above, note bl to the English translation of the Tibetan).

183. "There where ... is" translates Mo. *qamiγ-a bükü tende* (lit. "there, being at where"). This expression is an attempt to give a literal rendering of Tib. *ga-la-ba der* (lit. "there, being at where").

184. Note the use of the purely ornamental (and technically incorrect) *galig* letter *ḍ* in this occurrence (though not consistently elsewhere) of the king's name. For a discussion of this phenomenon see Appendix 4, "The Mongolian *Ali Kali* Alphabet."

185. Note the use of the accusative ending *-i* to mark the subject of the verb in a subordinate clause.

186. "Harmed" translates *qoor qomsa bolju* (for which see Kow. 861b), which in turn renders Tibetan *gyag-cing* "being destroyed, spoiled, harmed" (Roerich, vol. 2,

70b). The term *qoor* is a loan word from Uig. *qor* (pronounced with a long vowel according to Clauson; see *EDT* 641b, where the word is defined as "loss, damage").

187. The transitive form *samsiyaγad* given in the xylograph is presumably an error for intransitive *samsiγad*, "having been wiped out." For *samsiya-* cf. above, note 122.

188. Mo. *qarsi* "palace" < Uig. *qarši* id. (*EDT* 664a) < Tokh. B **kerc(c)iyi* (see Thomas, *Elementarbuch*, p. 186 and *EDT* 664a; the word is attested only in declined forms).

189. "Wild animals" translates *ariyatan*, a plural in *-n* of *ariyatu* < *araγatai* "possessing molars" and by extension "carnivorous" (see Kow. 140b).

190. Lit. "wild people" (*ǰerlig ǰümün*).

191. The Mongolian follows the Tibetan exactly in reading "many *saṃghas*" (lit. "many monastic communities," *olan quwaraγ-ud*) where one would expect "many monks" (*olan ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd*). For a discussion of this usage in Old Tibetan texts see note 18 to the English translation of the Tibetan.

192. Note the lapse into the past tense here (cf. above, n. 148).

193. Lit. "which" (Mo. *ali*).

194. "Teacher" translates Mo. *baγsi* < Uig. *baγši* (during the early Yüan period, but soon thereafter → *baqši*; see *EDT* 321a) < Ch. *po-shi* 博士 (A. Ch. *pâk-ʿdẓʿi*, Karlgren nos. 50, 877). For the derivation of the Uighur from the Chinese see von Gabain, *ATG*, 326b.

195. See above, note 193.

196. "Each" translates Mo. *tus-tus-ača*, a word-for-word rendering of Tib. *so-so-nas* "separately" (Das 1283a). The ablative in the Mongolian construction is an imitation of the Tibetan, and is grammatically superfluous.

197. See above, note 191.

198. "Will not comply" translates *ese boluγsan-dur*(for this definition see Less. 115a, s.v. *bol-* (d) "to comply with, yield, obey"). The Tibetan has "will not heed [him]" (*ma-nyan-pa dang*, line 167).

199. "Lie down" translates Mo. *kebtemüi*, one of the equivalents of Tibetan *nyal-ba* (see Kow. 2453b). In the present instance, however, the Tibetan should have been interpreted as "fall asleep," not simply "lie down."

200. "Prayer" translates Mo. *qutuγ*, here the equivalent of Tib. *smon-lam* "prayer, benediction, vow" (see Roerich, vol. 7, p. 152b).

201. "Face" translates *gegen niγur*, lit. "luminous face," an honorific expression which here corresponds to Tib. *zhal* "face (hon.)." I have restored the word *niγur* "face" which is necessary if the Mongolian is to correspond to the sense of the Tibetan.

This reconstruction is supported by the occurrence of the same Tibetan term immediately below, where it is rendered in Mongolian by the virtually identical phrase *gegegen niγur* "luminous face" (line 170).

202. "[Ordinary] human *saṃghas*" translates *budgalis-un quwaraγ-ud*, in which *budgalis* is a plural in *-s* of *budgali*, "[ordinary] person" (Kow. 1184a, where the word is defined as "l'être, personne, homme, ... individu"). The Mongolian form is presumably a loan word from Uig. **pudgali* (not, however, attested in existing dictionaries) < Tokharian (cf. Tokh A. *pudgalyik*, an adjectival form < Skt. *pudgalika* "of a person" [Thomas, *Elementarbuch*, p. 211]) < Skt. *pudgala* "person, individual" (MW 633b). For the use of the word *saṃgha* (Mo. *quwaraγ*) where one would expect "monk" (*ayaγ-q-a tegimlig*) see above, n. 191.

203. "Will show" translates Mo. *ǰaγaǰu*, apparently a variant (or miscarving?) of *ǰiγaǰu* (< *ǰiγaqu* "indiquer, montrer, démontrer, enseigner" [Kow. 2331b]) which appears in line 177 below. The Tibetan equivalent in both intances is *bstan-pa*, "showing, teaching."

204. Xyl. *Gaṇḍha-ma-a-ḍa*. Note the ornamental (and technically incorrect) use of the galig letter *ḍ* in transcribing the ordinary dental *d* (see above, n. 184, and Appendix 4). The final *-na* has inadvertently been omitted. In the spelling of this word the Mongolian agrees with Tib. P3 as against P1.

205. For *kemer-ün* in the unusual sense of "i.e., that is to say" see above, n. 171.

206. "Incense" translates Mo. *küǰi* < Uig. *küži* (*DTS* 332b) < Ch. *hsiang-chu* 香炷 (A. Ch. *kō-t'šeu* according to von Gabain [*ATG* 346a], *˛ziang-tśiu˒* according to Karlgren [nos. 142, 1245] but cf. the Japanese reading of the first character as *kō*).

207. The form of this name as it appears in the xylograph (*Suḍhanabutra-rarnaša*) is totally corrupt. The segment *rarnaša* is the result of the Mongolian translator's misreading of Tib. *ra-tna-sha* as *ra-rna-sha*, an easily understandable error. The syllables *ra-tna-sha* in the Tibetan, however, are themselves corrupt, the residue of an earlier reading **Su-dhar-sha-na* which was only partially removed when the name was re-Sanskritized to read *Sudhanaputra*. For further details see the Tibetan text, line 173 and notes.

208. Mo. *sartawaki* < Uig. *sartavaχï* "elder of merchants, leader" (*DTS* 490a) << Skt. *sārthavāha* "leader or conductor of a caravan, merchant, trader" (MW 1209a).

209. Lit. "on the evening of the new fourteenth."

210. The imperative suffix *-tuγai*, which most commonly serves as a third-person form ("let him/her do, let there be"), is used here in the second-person singular. This

usage is not noted in Poppe's *Grammar* (§337), and is rare in the preclassical language (see Weiers, *Untersuchungen*, §26, pp. 122-127). It is quite common, however, in the Buddhist canonical literature, and is cited in Grønbech and Krueger, *Introduction*, p. 50, §47(d).

211. Lit. "protector" (*sakiγči*).

212. For *edüged*, a plural in *-d* of *edüge* "now" cf. above, n. 95.

213. The negative *ülü* has been inadvertently omitted in copying.

214. Again the imperative suffix *-tuγai* is used in the second-person singular (see above, n. 209).

215. For an explanation of the derivation of this name (via two scribal errors in the Tibetan) see Chapter 2, "The Tibetan Version," pp. 152-153. Note also the (technically incorrect) use of the ornamental *ḑ* for an ordinary dental *d* (see above, n. 184).

216. Note the use of the dative form *čim-a-da*, "to you," where one would rather expect the classical spelling *čimadur*. The use of the suffix *-da* reflects the non-classical spoken language.

217. I assume that the words *-yin onisu*, "(gen.) bolt " have been inadvertently omitted in copying. (The corresponding Tibetan has *sgo-gtan*, "door-bolt" [line 198].) The Mongolian text as it stands has the arhat's assailant making use of the door itself as a weapon, a formulation that makes little sense.

218. The conjunction of the forms *kemekü neretü* is unexpected.

219. The Mongolian follows P1 in omitting the remainder of the name of Dirghamukha (see the Tibetan text, line 199, note 1).

220. Lit. "manifestly having come" (*iledte ireged*).

221. The original form of this name is uncertain. For the rationale behind the spelling given here see Chapter 1, pp. 67-68, n. 35 and Chapter 2, p. 218, n. 22.

222. I have emended *olangki-da* "greatly" to read *olangki*, "many," to bring the Mongolian into agreement with the simple adjectival form *phal-po-che* "many" given in the Tibetan.

223. Note the use of the plural suffix *-γsad* in agreement with the collective noun *nilbusun* "tears."

224. The Sanskrit name *Dhūmaketu* (lit. "having smoke as a banner") is used in reference to the sun as well as to comets or falling stars (see MW 518a).

225. The Mongolian translator has rigidly followed the Tibetan here, producing a sentence that makes little grammatical sense in Mongolian. The Tibetan itself (that is, the

version given in the later xylograph editions, on one of which the Mongolian is based) is in turn the result of an error in transmission. The reading *du-ba nag-po gtong-ba-zhig* "one who puts forth black smoke" (given in P1, P3, D and L) is in fact an error for earlier *du-ba nag-po mthong-ba-zhig* "what looks like black smoke" (see the Tun-huang edition, line 209 of the Tibetan text).

226. "Garments" translates Mo. *qubčad*, a plural in *-d* of the collective *qubčasun* "garments" (Kow. 899b).

227. Lit. "from what did there come about" (*yaγun-ača bolba*).

228. The term *siγu(n)* "noise, clamor" is not registered as such in existing dictionaries, but cf. the related forms *šuu* "bruit" (Kow. 1536a), *šuuγiyan* "noise made by a crowd of people" (Less. 758b; cf. also *DO*, p. 632b, s.v. *šy̆gān*), and *šiγunuul-* "to make [a] screech or squeak" (Krueger, *Materials*, Part 2, 443a). For Mo. *daγun siγun* "noise and clamor" the corresponding Tibetan text has *ku-co sgra*, lit. "noise [and] voice" (see the Tibetan text, lines 214-215).

229. "Some" translates Mo. *nigen nigen*, a rather unexpected rendering of Tib. *la-la ni* "some (+ topic marker)," for which one would rather have expected Mo. *ǰarim* or *kedün*. The repetition of *nigen* "one" of course occurs in the expression *nigen nigen-iyen* "one another (acc.)," but that is clearly not what is meant here. The Mongolian translator apparently felt constrained to devise some analogue of the Tibetan reduplicative form *la-la*, of which Mo. *nigen nigen* is the result.

230. Lit. "placing them at his own right and left armpits."

231. "Dharma-treasury" translates Mo. *nom-un sang*, itself the translation of Tib. *chos-kyi mdzod* (id.). For *sang* and *nom* as such see above, n. 174.

232. The word *bandi* is not a genuine Mongolian term, but is simpy a transliteration of Tib. *ban-de* "Buddhist monk, mendicant." For the ancestry of this term (a rare example of an Indian loan word in Tibetan) see Chapter 2, p. 218, n. 24.

233. Lit. "not being made use of" (*ülu daγaγdaǰu*). I suspect that the form *daγaγdaǰu* is a corruption of an original *tasuldaǰu* "being cut" (cf. Kow. 1614b, *tasuldaqu* "être coupé, decoupé"), though the two words are admittedly quite distinct. The corresponding Tibetan text has *ma-chod-nas*, "not having been cut."

234. "Monastic robes" translates Mo. *karš-a degel*, a synonym compound consisting of the loan word *karš-a* "monastic robe" (< Uig. **karz-a* id. [not registered in this spelling in existing dictionaries, but cf. the form *karaza* cited in *DTS* 289b] < Sogd. **k'rš'* [again not attested in existing sources, but the intrusive *r* is a telltale sign of transmission in Sogdian; cf. Sogd. *kwrty* < Skt./Pkt. *koṭi* "10 million" and *βrγr* <

Skt./Pkt. *vihāra* "monastery"] < Skt./Pkt. *kāṣāya* "a brown-red cloth or garment" [MW281a]) and the native Mongolian word *degel* "robe" (Kow. 1740b). Such bilingual synonym compounds are ubiquitous in Uighur Buddhist literature, from which the Mongols adopted this usage.

235. Lit. "are coming" (*irejü amui*). The Tibetan has simply "have come" (*'ongs-so*). Note the Mongolian translator's inconsistency in rendering this expression, which in the previous sentence is translated as *iregüleged*, i.e., "having caused [them] to come."

236. The expression *öber-iyen* (despite its rather unexpected appearance) is simply the nominative of *öber* "himself" (see Poppe, §330). The Mongolian translator has apparently omitted the word "king" found in the Tibetan, which has "the king himself" (*rgyal-po-nyid*).

237. Or "they [turned out] not to have been monks" (*ayaγ-q-a tegimlig-üd busu ajuγu*). For the finite verbal ending *-juγu* in this sense see Poppe, *Grammar*, §353.

238. "A bit" translates Mo. *edüi tedüiken*, lit. "just as much as this and as much as that."

239. Lit. "was one who knows (*medegči*)."

240. The Mongolian differs here from the Tibetan, which has "monks' views, and precepts, and vows" (*dge-slong-gi lta-ba dang | tshul-khrims dang | brtul-zhugs*, lines 244-245).

241. Neither the Tibetan nor the Mongolian makes a great deal of sense here. The Mongolian has literally "being by means of sorrowful thought" (*γasiγutu sedkil-iyer aju*), while the Tibetan has an expression which has thus far resisted interpretation (see note 26 to the English translation of the Tibetan).

242. "Exalted dharmas" (Mo. *degedü nom-ud*) is an error for "exalted Dharma" (*degedü nom*), i.e., the Buddha's teaching as a whole. The Tibetan expression *dam-pa'i chos* of which this is a translation is in turn a rendering of the Sanskrit technical term *saddharma* "True Dharma, Good Dharma" (cf. above, n. 55).

243. This sentence is an exact Mongolian translation of the Tibetan (found only in the later xylograph editions; see note 27 to the English translation of the Tibetan). It does not, however, make any evident sense in either language.

244. The word *jan* (not attested in existing dictionaries) is simply a Mongolian transliteration of Tib. *zangs* "copper." The rendering of Tibetan *ng* as Mo. *n* and the omission of the final *-s* of the Tibetan suggests that the initial translation may have been made via dictation.

245. The word order of the Mongolian diverges from the Tibetan, which has "six flavors

[of] food" (*kha-zas ni ro drug*, lit. "as to food, the six flavors").

246. In place of "tasteless" (Mo. *amtan ügei*) one would have expected rather *amtatu* ~ *amtatai* "sweet" (Kow. 115b), which would be the equivalent of Tib. *mngar-ba* (line 258).

247. Note that the title as given here does not correspond to the title found at the beginning of the text, a feature which usually indicates that some editorial emendation has taken place.

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bolqui : °-dur-iyan 31 (*lags-nas*), γurban ǰaγun od °-dur 54-55 (*lo sum-brgyar ni*)

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boluγad : 207 (*gyur*), 241 (*gyur-te*), 184 (--); toyin ° 174 (*rab-tu byung-ba*); ügei ° 48 (*mi-byed-de*)

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Šakyamuni : 32 (*Shā-kya-thub-pa*); ° burqan 4 (*sangs-rgyas ... Shā-kya-thub-pa*); ° burqan-a 21 (*sangs-rgyas ... Shā-kya-thub-pa-la*); ° burqan-u 9 (*sangs-rgyas ... Shā-kya-thub-pa'i*). Cf. **Sakyamuni.**
šaril : 25 (*ring-bsrel*)
šasin : burqan-u ° 1 (*sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa*). Cf. **sasin.**

teyin : ° kemen 195-196 (*de-skad*); ° bügesü ber 242 (*mod-kyi*)
titsi : 193 (*xyl.* tiusi) (*slob-ma*); °-ner 161 (*slob-ma*); Titsi-tü 143 (*Slob-ma-can*)
tngri : 7, 55, 72, 172, 205 (*lha*), 177 (*lhas*)
  tngris : 19 (*lha*)
todorqai : °-a 17, 241 (*gsal-bar*)
todqarid- :
  todqaridduγčid : °-un ǰüil 74 (*bgegs-kyi ris*)
toγ-a :
  toγ-a-tan : edüi ° 138 (*'di-snyed-cig*)
toli : 185 (*me-long*)
tonil- :
  tonilγaγči : 45 (*thar-par byed-pa'i*)
  toniluγčin: 41 (*rnam-par grol-ba*, P3 *grol-ba*)
toqai : γar-un °-ača doroγsida 99 (*lag-pa gru-mo man-chad*)
toyin : 81 (*dge-slong*), 143 (--); ° boluγad 174 (*rab-tu byung-ba*)
töküm : em-tü ° 15 (*sman-ljongs*)
törö : 248 (*tshul*); nom-un ° yosuγar 58 (*chos-kyi gzhung-bzhin*; L *chos-kyi gzhung-bzhin-du*); ° yosuγar 65 (*tshul-bzhin*), 180 (*tshul-bzhin-du*); qan ° 92 (*rgyal-srid*), qan °-yi 67 (*rgyal-srid*); °-yi 68; °-yi ebdemüi 71 (*ya-ma brla-byed*; P1,P3 *ya-ma rla-byed*); ° yabudal-i 245 (*brtul-zhugs*)
törö- :
  töröged : 101 (*btsa'-ste*), 107 (*byung-ba-dang*), 112 (*btsas-nas*)
  törögsen : °-ü 104 (*skyes-pa'i*)
  törömüi : 46 (*'byung-ngo*)
  töröyü : 98 (*btsas-te*), 100 (*'byung-ngo*), 102 (*'byung-ste*; P1,P3 *gyur-ste*), 103 (*skyes-te*)
tula : üčüken-ü ° 59 (*chung-bas*; P1 *tshungs-pa*, P3 *tshungs-pas*); iregsen-ü ° 119 (*byung-bas*); yeke nigül-ün ° 138 (*sdig che-pas*); ariluγsan-u ° 231 (*nub-pas*); ülü medegči-yin ° 245 (*mi-shes-pas*)
tulada : 228 (*xyl.* tula'da) 228 (*phyir*)
turqan : ǰud ° 61 (*mu-ge*)
tus : tus-tus-ača 165 (*so-so-nas*)
tusa : 185 (*yod* [sic]; misread as *yon*?), 187 (*phan*); yaγun-u °-yi 22 (*ci'i don-du*)
tügemel : ° talbiγan bolγan 13 (*khyab-par bkram-ste*)

unu- :

unubasu : sinǰilen ° 239 (*brtags-na*)

uri- :

uriǰu : 152 (--; P3 *bkug-te*)

urida : 30 (*snga-ma*)

urida-ača : 51 (*sngon-pas*)

usu(n) : 82, 158 (*chu*), 164 (*chus*)

Ut<ka>t[a]r-a kürü-e [*sic*; for *Uttar-a-kürü*] : 11-12 (*Sgra-mi-snyan*)

üčüken : ° bolǰu 64 (*chung-zhing*); ° ču 245 (*cung-zad kyang*)

üčüken-ü : ° tula 59 (*chung-bas*; P1 *tshungs-pa*, P3 *tshungs-pas*)

üge :

üge-yi : qariqu ° 246 (*lan*)

üges : °-i 164 (*gtam*); tasimaγai ° 71 (*kha-gsag*)

ügegüi : °-e bolγamui 39 (*ma-mchis-par bgyid*)

ügei : 184 (*med-na*), 196 (*med*), 231 (*mi* [sic]); ° boluγad 48 (*mi-byed-de*); ° bolγabai 132-133 (*med-par byas-so*); ° bolumui 154 (*med-par 'gyur-ro*; P1,P3 *med-par gyur-to*); ° bolun 210 (*med*); endegürel ° 80 (*ma-nor-bar*); amtan ° 258 (*mngar-ba*)

ügüle- :

ügülebesü : 108, 120 (*smras-pa-dang*), 167 (*bsgo-ba-dang*)

ügüleged : 122 (*smras-nas*), 201 (*zer-te*), 226 (*smras-pa-dang*)

ügülegsen : °-dür 136, 140, 150, 187, 191, 215 (*smras-pa-dang*)

ügüleǰü : 111 (*smras-so*), 238 (*bsgo-nas*); soyun ° 129 (*bsgo-nas*); üges-i ° bür-ün 165 (*gtam byas-nas*)

ügüleküi : °-dür 121 (*bgyis-pa-dang*; P1,P3 *bgyi-pa-dang*); ülü °-dür 192 (*mi-zer-ba-dang*)

ügülemüi : 196 (*smra*); maγusiyan ° 65 (*skur-pa 'debs*; P1,P3 *bskur-pa 'debs*); qariqu ° 198 (*kha-zlogs*)

ügülen : ülü ° 190 (*ma-zer-bar*), 246 (*ma-btab-par*); yenggügen-i ° 68-69 (*dbyen-byed*)

ügüler-ün : 108, 118, 122, 127, 184 (*na-re*), 120, 134, 137, 149, 188 (*smras-pa*)

ügüleldü- :

ügüleldügsen : °-dür 163 (*gtam-du glengs-pa-dang*)

ügüleldür-ün : 161 (*gtam-du smras-pa*)

üiled- :

üiledbesü : 144 (*bgyis-na*; P1,P3 *bgyis-ni* [sic])

üiledčü : 176, 251 (*byas-te*)

üileddügči : 154 (*spyod-pa*)

üileddügčid : °-eče 65 (*spyod-pa-rnams-la*)

üileddüged : ° bügetele 170 (*byas-na*)

üileddügsen : 148 (*byas-pa*)

üileddümüi : 22 (*mdzad-pa lags*)

üileddün : ülü ° 87 (*mi-spyod*)

üǰe- :

üǰebesü : 255 (*bltar*); ° ber 185 (*bltar*)

üǰegdeǰü : qotala amitan-a ° 19-20 (*sems-can mang-po kun-gyis mthong-ste*)

üǰegdekü : todorqai-a ° bolbai 17 (*snang-bas gsal-bar 'gyur*); ülü ° bolumui 211 (*bltar mi-snang-bar 'ong-ngo*); 255 (*mi-mngon-par gyur-to*)

üǰeged : 237 (*mthong-nas*)

üǰeǰü : 220 (*mthong-nas*)

üǰekü : ° minu boltuγai 171 (*mthong-bar shog-shig*); ülü ° boltuγai 226 (*mi-snang-bar gyur-te*)

üǰer-ün : 241 (*mthong-nas*)

üǰel : 243, 244 (*lta-ba*)

üǰügül- :

üǰügülǰü : 45 (*ston-cing*)

üǰügülügsen : 2, 263 (*bstan-pa*)

üǰügür : ebesün-ü °-ün tedüiken 189 (*rtsva-mchog-tsam*; P1,P3 *rtsa-mchog-tsam*)

ükü- :

ükügsen : 164 (*shi-ba*); °-i 220 (*shi-ba*)

ükügsed : °-ün 250 (*shi-ba'i*)

üle- :

üleyü : ülü ° 204 (*ma-lus-so*)

ülü : 49, 56, 58, 63, 64, 70, 73, 76, 78, 84, 87, 93, 136, 137, 139, 186(2x), 192, 196, 211, 226, 245, 255 (*mi*), 50, 57(2x), 204, 229, 246 (*ma*), 225 (*med*)

ünen : ° durabar 70 (*snying-nas*); °-iyer 248 (*yang-dag-par*)

ür-e : °-yi 175 (*'bras-bu*)

üsü(n) : 230 (*skra*)
üsüd: °-i 229 (*skra*)
üsün-iyen : 236, 240 (*skra*)
üsüg : °-üd 254 (*yi-ge-rnams*)
Wayisirawani : 21 (*Bai-shra-wa-na*; P1,P3 *Be-sha-ra-ma-na*)
wčir : 200, 202 (*rdo-rje*)
<w>Gandar : see **Gandar.**
winai : °-yi 185,186 (*'dul-ba*); °-yin yosuγar 185-186 (*'dul-ba-ltar*). Cf. **winay-a.**
winay-a : °-yi 196 (*'dul-ba*). Cf. **winai.**
wiwanggirid : ° üǰügülügsen 2, 263 (*lung-bstan-pa*)
yabu- :
yabuγči : 40, 73 (*spyod-pa'i*), 43, 80 (*spyod-pa*)
yabuγčid : 58 (*spyod-pa-rnams*)
yabuγčin : 70 (*spyod-pa*)
yabumui : 186 (*spyod*); ülü ° 70 (*mi-spyod-kyi*)
yabun : ülü ° 58-59, 63 (*mi-spyod*)
yabudal : törö °-i 245 (*brtul-zhugs*)
yabuγul- :
yabulγulbasu : itegel ° 150 (*skyabs-su song-na*)
yabuγulǰu : itegel ° 170 (*skyabs-su song-nas*)
yaγun : 185(2x), 187 (*ci*); ° ba 192 (*cang*)
yaγun-ača : 118, 215 (*ci-las*)
yaγun-i : 137 (*ci*)
yaγun-u : 22, 108 (*ci'i*)
yagsas : 7 (*gnod-sbyin*). Cf. **yagsas-a.**
yagsas-a : 200 (*gnod-sbyin*). Cf. **yagsas.**
yaki- :
yakin : 196, 201 (*ci-ste*), 198 (*ci'i phyir*)
yambar : ° siltaγan-iyar 38 (*rgyu ci-las*)
Yau-a-na : 86 (*Ya-ba-na*). Cf. **Yawan-a.**
Yawan-a : 113 (*Ya-ba-na*). Cf. **Yau-a-na.**
yeke : ° daγun 208 (*sgra chen-po*); ° daγun siγun 215 (*ku-co sgra chen-po*); ° γayiqamsiγ anu bolbai 20 (*ngo-mtshar gyur-to*); ° γasalang 249 (*mya-ngan chen-po*); ° küčüten 8 (*mthu-bo-che*); ° aγula[s] 14 (*ri chen-po*); dörben ° qad 21-22 (*rgyal-po chen-po bzhis*); ° nigülesküi-

APPENDIX 1. PROPER NAMES IN THE *CANDRAGARBHA-SŪTRA* AND RELATED TEXTS

Listed below are the major proper names found in the versions of the Kauśāmbī story identified to date, with the exception of those I have described as "late Khotanese adaptations" (see above, Chapter 1, pp. 77-97) and the *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (which contains no proper names at all). This compilation has been carried out with two primary objectives in mind: first, to provide data useful for the reconstruction of the original Indian (Sanskrit or Prakrit) forms of the names; and second, to highlight the similarities and differences among the various textual "families," in order to determine the relationships among these groups.

The texts included in this survey have treated Indian proper names in two distinct fashions. In some versions the names are transliterated, while in others an attempt has been made to translate the significance of Indian names (via real or fictional etymologies) into Chinese or Tibetan terms. For translated names, I have provided the corresponding English equivalents (as well as the presumed Sanskrit antecedent, in cases where it differs from the expected ancestor of the group as a whole). For transliterated names in Chinese, I have provided the readings given in Karlgren's *Dictionary*, which (being based on the spoken language of north China in the 6th century) provide a closer approximation to the language of these texts than would any of the modern dialects. For transliterated names in Tibetan, I have simply romanized the Tibetan according to the Wylie system, and have (in cases where non-conformity with the common ancestor is likely) suggested a probable Indian antecedent. Finally, for the Khotanese names (all of which are transliterated) I have adopted the transcriptions given by Emmerick in his edition of *The Book of Zambasta*.

Abbreviations:

Mvbh.	*Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. No. 1545, 27.918a18-b21)
Kāt.(v)	*Prediction of Kātyāyana* (verse edition) (T. No. 2029, 49.9c20-12c2)
Saṃ.	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (T. No. 99, 2.177b12-180a5)
Aś.	*Aśoka-avadāna* (T. No. 2042, 50.126c23-128b4)
Krmś.	*Karmaśataka* (Derge No. 340, vol. 73 [*mdo-sde* ཧ], 265b7-273b1)
Kāt.(p)	*Prediction of Kātyāyana* (prose edition) (T. No. 2028, 49.7a21-9c14)
Tib. CG	*Candragarbha-paripṛcchā-sūtra* (Tun-huang ms., I.O.L. J601.1)
Khot. CG	R. E. Emmerick, ed., *The Book of Zambasta* (pp. 398-419)
Ch. CG	*Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.374c28-381c11)

1. "3 Evil Kings"

Mvbh.	(not named)[1]	
Kāt.(v)	front: 大秦	"Rome"[2]
	rear: 撥羅	A. Ch. *pɪʷɒt-ˬlâ*(Karlgren nos. 749, 569) "Parthia"[3]
	center: 安息	A. Ch. ˬ·*ân-siək* (4, 780) "Iran"[4]
Saṃ.	south: 釋迦o	A. Ch. *śiäk-ˬka* (202, 342) < Skt. *śaka* "Saka"
	north: 耶槃那	A. Ch. ˬ*ia*- [*bʻuân*]-*'nâ'* (226, 690,[5] 647) < Skt. *yavana* "Greek"
	west: 鉢羅婆	A. Ch. *puât-ˬlâ-ˬbʻuâ* (707, 569, 753) < Skt. *pahlava* "Parthian"
	east: 兜沙羅	A. Ch. ˬ*təu-ˬsa-ˬlâ* (1017, 846, 569) < Skt. *tuṣāra*, for *tukhāra* "Kushan" [6]

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[1] The *Mahāvibhāṣā* has a *total* of three kings, of whom two are portrayed as evil and the other (identified only as the "king in the east") as good. No ethnic name is associated with any of the three.

[2] The term *ta-ch'in* is used in reference to the Roman Empire at least as early as the middle of the first century C.E.; see above, p. 41, n. 80.

[3] The Karlgren reading suggests an attempt to represent an original **pat-la* < **pat-ra*, metathesis < **parta* "Parthian" (for this derivation see above, p. 41, n. 81).

[4] The term *an-hsi* is derived from the name of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty (c. 248 BCE - 229 CE), but continued to be used even after the fall of that dynasty in reference to the territory of greater Iran (as opposed to Parthia, or East Iran, proper).

[5] The character 槃 does not appear in Karlgren's dictionary, but cf. 般 ˬ*puân*, 搬 ˬ*buân* ~ ˬ*puân*, and 盤 ˬ*bʻuân* listed under no. 690.

[6] See Lamotte, *HBI*, p. 221, and MW 449c, s.v. *tukhāra*. Note that the mention of the Kushans in this version does not in itself (contrary to Lamotte, *loc. cit.*) require a later date than that of the other versions. Recent chronological studies of the period of Saka, Parthian and Kushan invasions have demonstrated that the earliest Kushan incursions into northwest India were contemporary with those of the Parthians, that is, during the first century of the common era (see Frye, *History of Ancient Iran*, pp. 177-204 and the further references given there). The *Saṃyukta-āgama* is the only text that mentions this fourth "evil king," residing in the east. In all other versions (with the exception of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, for which see note 1 above) the three evil kings are contrasted with a "good king," ordinarily described as residing in the east at the city of Kauśambī.

Aś. south: 釋拘 A. Ch. *śi̯äk-ˌki̯u* (202, 484) < Skt. *śaka* "Saka"

north: 閻無那 A. Ch. *ˌi̯äm-mi̯u-ˁnâʾ* (247, 1289, 647) < Skt. *yamunā*? (hypercorrection from *yavana* "Greek"?)

west: 鉢羅擾 A. Ch. *puât-lâ-ˁńźi̯äu* (707, 569, 260[7]) < Skt. *pah!zva* "Parthian"

Krmś. south: *sha-ka'i mi* "man of the Sakas" < Skt. *śaka* + ?

west: *ba-lhi-ka* < Skt. *bahlika*, "Bactrian" (hypercorrection from *pahlava*, "Parthian"[8])

north: *ya-ba-na* < Skt. *yavana* "Greek"

Kāt.(p) south: 耶來那 A. Ch. *ˌi̯a-lâi-ˁnâʾ* (226, 511,[9] 647) < Skt. *yavana* "Greek"

north: (unnamed)

(west): 揵秋 A. Ch. [*ˁg'i̯onʾ*]-*ts'i̯əu* (373,[10] 1088) < Skt. ?

Tib. CG (directions not specified)

ya-bha-na < Skt. *yavana* "Greek"

pa-la-ba < Skt. *pahlava* "Parthian"

shag-ku-na (var. *sheg-ku-na*) < Skt. *śaka* "Saka" + ?

Khot. CG (directions not specified)

śśakaunā < Skt. *śaka* "Saka" + ?

yavanā < Skt. *yavana* "Greek"

palvalā < Skt. *pahlava* "Parthian"

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7 The reading 擾 (A. Ch. *ˁńźi̯äu*; for this emendation see the addenda and corrigenda in Karlgren, *Dictionary*, p. 398) for Skt. *-va* is difficult to explain.

8 In the blockprint editions of the Tibetan *Candragarbha-sūtra* the Tunhuang reading *pa-la-ba* is regularly emended to *ba-lhi-ka*.

9 The use of the character 來 *ˌlâi* for Skt. *va* has not been adequately explained.

10 The character 揵 is not given in Karlgren, but cf. 建 *ki̯on'*, 健 *g'i̯on'*, and 鍵 *ˁg'i̯on* given at no. 373.

Ch. CG south: 波羅帝 A. Ch. ˛puâ˛lâ (753, 569) < Skt. *pahlava* "Parthian" + *ti* "emperor"[11]

west: 百示己 A. Ch. *pok-ʑi* (686, 808) < Skt. *pārsika* "Persian"?[12]

north: 善意釋迦 "good thought *Saka*," *shan-i* + A. Ch. *śiäk˛ka* (202, 342) < Skt. *śaka* "Saka" + ?

2. **Mahendrasena** ("great-lord-army" [MW 802a + 1246b])

Mvbh. (not named)

Kāt.(v) (not named)

Saṃ. 摩因陀羅西那 A. Ch. ˛muâ˛ˑiĕn˛dʻâ˛lâ˛siei-ʻnâʾ (593, 273, 1011, 569, 776, 647)

Aś. 大軍 "great army" < Skt. *mahāsena* ?[13]

Krmś. *dbang-chen-sde* "great-lord division"[14]

Kāt.(p) (not named)

Tib. CG *mhen-dra-se-na* (var. *men-drha-se-na*, *men-dra-se-na*)

Khot. CG *mahindraysenā*

Ch. CG 大軍 "great army" < Skt. *mahāsena* ?[13]

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[11] Read by Lamotte as a single word ("un roi du sud *Po-lo-ti*," *HBI*, p. 222), but given the unexpected nature of the final syllable, together with the mixture of translation and transliteration in the name of the Saka ruler in the same text, it seems preferable to read *ti* as a title and not as part of the name. Note also that *ti* 帝 is not one of the characters generally used to romanize Sanskrit *ti*.

[12] It is possible that *pok-ʑi* is the product of a metathesis of Skt. *pārsika* → **pa(r)sik* → **paksi*, but this is only a suggestion.

[13] But more likely, perhaps, the result of an intra-Chinese abbreviation (on the frequency of emendation from three-syllable to two-syllable names in Chinese Buddhist translations see above, p. 41, n. 81).

[14] < Skt. *mahendrasena*, reading *sena* as "section, division" instead of "army" (see MW 1246b, s.v. *senā*).

3. **Duṣprasaha** ("hard to bear" [MW 488a])

Mvbh.	(does not appear)
Kāt.(v)	(does not appear)
Saṃ.	難當 "hard to resist"
Aś.	難可看視 "hard to look at"
Krmś.	*bzod-par dka'-ba* "hard to tolerate"
Kāt.(p)	(does not appear?)
Tib. CG	*drus-spra-sa-ha* (var. *du-spra-ba-sam, drus-sprha-lha-hra*)
Khot. CG	*duṣpraysavā*[15]
Ch. CG	難看 "hard to look at"

4. **Agnidatta** ("fire-given"; cf. MW 5b)

Mvbh.	(does not appear)
Kāt.(v)	(does not appear)
Saṃ.	阿耆尼達多 A. Ch. *·â-gʻji-nji-dʻât-tâ* (1, 340, 659, 956, 1006)
Aś.	大與 "great gift"[16]
Krmś.	*mes-sbyin* "given by fire"
Kāt.(p)	(does not appear)
Tib. CG	*ag-na-tra-ta*
Khot. CG	(does not appear)
Ch. CG	火施 "fire-almsgiving"

5. **Śiṣyaka** ("one who has disciples")

Mvbh.	室史迦 A. Ch. *śiĕt-ʂi-ka* (1214, 885, 342); also given the epithet 般株, whose significance is unclear
Kāt.(v)	尸師 A. Ch. *śi-ṣi* (878, 893) < Skt. *śiṣya*

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[15] For an explanation of the Khotanese rendering of Skt./Pkt. final *-ha* as *-va* (Khot. masc. nom. sg. *-vā*) see above, p. 65, n. 133.

[16] The character 大 "great" (found in the printed Taishō edition) is a copyist's error for 火 "fire."

Saṃ. 失沙 A. Ch. *śiět-sa* (880,[17] 846) < Skt. *śiṣya* ; also translated as "disciple"

Aś. 多弟子 ("[he who has] many disciples")

Krmś. *slob-ma-can* ("he who has disciples")

Kāt.(p) 尸依仇 A. Ch. *śi-ei-g'iəu* (878, 185, 399)

Tib. CG *Shir-sha-ka* (var: *Shir-she-ka, Shir-sha-ga, Sher-she-ka, Shir-she-kya*)

Khot. CG *Śśārṣakā*

Ch. CG 失自帀迦 A. Ch. *śiět-si-ka* (880, 893, 342)

6. **Sudhana** ("very rich" [MW 1225b], < *su* "good" + *dhana* "wealth, riches, property")

Mvbh. (does not appear)

Kāt.(v) (does not appear)

Saṃ. 須陀那 A. Ch. *siu-d'â-nâ* (839, 1011, 647)

Aś. 須達那 A. Ch. *siu-d'ât-nâ* (839, 956, 647)

Krmś. *nor-bzangs* ("good goods")

Kāt.(p) (does not appear)

Tib. CG *S.hu-dha-ra-sh.ha-na*

Khot. CG (does not appear)

Ch. CG 善財 ("good goods")

7. **Sūrata** ("well-disposed towards, compassionate, tender" [MW 1244b])

Mvbh. 蘇剌多 A. Ch. *suo-lât-tâ* (823, 509, 1006)

Kāt.(v) 須賴 A. Ch. *siu-lâi*, second syllable earlier *-*lâd*[18])

Saṃ. 修羅他 A. Ch. *siəu-lâ-t'â* (257, 569, 223[19])

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[17] The character 失 (Karlgren no. 880, A. Ch. *śiět*) may be an error for 矢 (Karlgren no. 881, A.Ch. *śi*).

[18] See above, p. 42, n. 85.

[19] Var. 陁 *d'â* (Karlgren no. 1011); see 2.179, note 1.

Aś. 須達 A. Ch. ˛siu-dʿât (839, 956[20]), glossed 秦言善意, "in the *Ch'in* language, 'good intention'"; elsewhere 修陀羅 A. Ch. ˛siəu˛dʿâ˛lâ (257, 1011, 569) < **sudara*, metathesis < **surata* < *Skt. sūrata* ?)

Krmś. *Des-pa* ("of good nature")

Kāt.(p) 須陀流 A. Ch. ˛siu˛dʿâ˛liəu (839, 1011, 564), glossed 晉言曰善 "in the *Chin* language, 'good' "

Tib. CG *Surata* (var: *So-ra-da*)

Khot. CG *Sūratā* (var: *Sūradā*)

Ch. CG 涑羅多 A. Ch. [siəuʾ]˛lâ˛tâ (910[21], 569, 1006)

8. **Aṅgada** ("a bracelet worn on the upper arm" [MW 7c])

Mvbh. (not named)

Kāt.(v) 阿斯 A. Ch. ˛·â˛sie (1, 816[22])

Saṃ. 安伽陀 A. Ch. ˛·ân˛gʿia˛dʿâ (4, 342, 1011)

Aś. 噫伽度 A. Ch. ˛·iʾ˛gʿia-dʿuoʾ (203,[23] 342, 1128)

Krmś. *Dpung-rgyan* ("upper-arm ornament")

Kāt.(p) 上頭 ("upper head")[24]

Tib. CG *Ag-na-dhe'i* [sic] (var: *A-gan-la* [sic!])

Khot. CG *Aṃ-ggadī*

Ch. CG 鴦伽多 A. Ch. ˛iang˛gʿia˛tâ (210, 342, 1006) (var: 鴦伽 only)

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[20] Contamination from Sudhana? (cf. #6 above).

[21] The character 涑 does not appear in Karlgren; could it be an error for 漱 siəuʾ (910) ?

[22] Error for one of the characters listed under Karlgren nos. 338 and 385?

[23] Error for 暗 ·âmʾ or 喑 ˛·jəm (277)?

[24] It is possible that these characters are to be read phonetically (A. Ch. ˛źiangʾ˛dʿəu, Karlgren nos. 861, 1015), but if so the name has undergone considerable deformation in the course of transmission.

9. Dadhimukha ("sour-milk face" [MW 468A])

Mvbh. (does not appear)

Kāt.(v) (not named)

Saṃ. 大提木佉 A. Ch. *dʿâiˇ-dʿiei-muk-kʿi̯a* (952, 890, 643, 491[25])

Aś. 樂面 ("joyful[26] face")

Krmś. *zho-gdong* ("curd-face")

Kāt.(p) (not named)

Tib. CG *'Dhid-rha-mu-kha*

Khot. CG *[Da]dāmukhā*

Ch. CG 目佉檀提 A. Ch. *mi̯uk-kʿi̯a-dʿân-dʿiei* (644, 491,[27] 967, 890) <

Skt. **mukha-dadhi* !

10. *Kedāra? ("n. of Śiva as worshipped in Himālaya" [MW 309a])[28]

Mvbh. (does not appear)

Kāt.(v) (does not appear)

Saṃ. (does not appear)

Aś. (does not appear)

Krmś. (does not appear)

Kāt.(p) (does not appear)

Tib. CG *Ge-rad*

Khot. CG (does not appear)

Ch. CG 鷄多羅 A. Ch. *kiei-tâ-lâ* (126, 1006, 569)

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[25] Ordinarily *kʿi̯wo*, but read *kʿi̯a* when used to transcribe Sanskrit *kha* etc. according to Karlgren (p. 163, no. 491).

[26] The character 樂 is presumably an error for 藥 "medicine" (note that *dadhi* or "sour milk" is regarded as a medicine in India).

[27] See note 25.

[28] This reconstruction (based solely on the Tibetan and Chinese *Candragarbha* texts) is uncertain at best. For the rationale behind this spelling see above, p. 67, n. 135.

APPENDIX 2. "THE LATTER AGE": References in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*

Among early Mahāyāna scriptures the *Lotus Sutra* (Skt. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*) provides a particularly rich assortment of references to the evil "latter age" which is expected to follow the death of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni. Listed below are all the references to such an age given in the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva (406 CE), as rendered into English by Leon Hurvitz,[1] with corresponding passages in the translations of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta (601 CE) and Dharmarakṣa (286 CE), and in the surviving Sanskrit version (English translation by H. Kern;[2] Sanskrit text edited by H. Kern and B. Nanjio[3]). As Hurvitz points out (p. ix), the translation by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta is scarcely more than a revision of Kumārajīva's text; in every instance listed below their text conforms exactly to that of Kumārajīva. (For the sake of completeness, however, I have provided page references to the version of Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta, following those for Kumārajīva's text.) Dharmarakṣa's translation is, however, another matter altogether; working more than a century earlier than Kumārajīva, and from a substantially different Indian original, his translation offers a number of striking divergences from that of Kumārajīva. I have therefore included his readings in full, together with a provisional English translation.

Since the *Lotus* is generally acknowledged to be one of the earliest Mahāyāna sutras, these references are particularly valuable in that they can provide insights into the formative period of the tradition of a "latter age." Particularly illuminating are the divergences betweenKumārajīva's translation (which has eclipsed its Chinese competitors almost entirely) and the earlier rendition of Dharmarakṣa, of which I will point out only two. First, in several instances where Kumārajīva has "the latter five hundred years" 後五百歲 (in Hurvitz's translation, "the last five hundred years") Dharmarakṣa reads instead

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[1] Leon Hurvitz, *The Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

[2] H. Kern, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law*, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 21(1884; rpt. New York: Dover, 1963).

[3] H. Kern and B. Nanjio, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, Vol. X (1912; rpt. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970).

the five corruptions" 五濁之世 (see nos. 24-26 below).[4] Even more striking, however, are the cases in which Dharmarakṣa substitutes for Kumārajīva's "latter five hundred years" an entirely different number: in these instances his text reads "the remaining fifty years" 餘五十歲, together with a further reference to the "five corruptions" (see nos. 27 and 28 below). This discrepancy (which was first pointed out by Michel Strickmann in a paper presented at Harvard University in 1979) is easily explained on the basis of the underlying Sanskrit: even the surviving manuscripts occasionally alternate between the readings "fifty" (*pañcāśatyāṃ*, fem. loc. sg. < *pañcāśati*, MW 578c, BHSD 315b) and "five hundred" (*pañcaśatyāṃ*, fem. loc. sg. < *pañcaśatī*, MW 577b). It is also worth noting that all references to these specific figures occur in those sections of the *Lotus* considered by Fuse Kogaku to be among the latest layers of the text, i.e., chapters 23 and 28 in Kumārajīva's translation, chapters 22 and 26 in the Sanskrit text, and chapters 21 and 26 in the translation of Dharmarakṣa.[5]

The passages cited below constitute a complete list of all references to "the latter age," "the evil age," "the age of the five corruptions,"[6] and "the latter five hundred years"[7] in the translation of Kumārajīva. I have omitted only those passages which refer simply to the time "after the extinction (i.e., final nirvana) of the Buddha," which are too numerous and often too vague in their implications to warrant collation here.

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[4] The "five corruptions" (Skt. *pañcakaṣāya*) are the corruption of the age (*kalpa*), beings (*sattva*), views (*dṛṣṭi*), life (*āyus*), and mental defilements (*kleśa*).

[5] See his *Hokekyō seiritsushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1934, especially pp. 16-17). The sole exception is a single reference to the "latter five hundred years" in chapter 13 of the Sanskrit text (see no. 16 below). This expression is clearly a late interpolation, however, as it has no parallel in either Dharmarakṣa or Kumārajīva, nor does it appear in all the extant Sanskrit manuscripts (see P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtram* [Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1960], p. 169, lines 23-24 and n. 7; and the edition of Kern and Nanjio, p. 282, lines 9-10 and n. 11, which has *pañcāśatyāṃ*, "fifty").

[6] References to the "age of the five corruptions" are also found in the shorter *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (see the English translation by Max Müller in E. Cowell et al., *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, p. 102).

[7] References to the "five hundred after-years" are also found in the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (see the English translation by Edward Conze, in *Buddhist Wisdom Books* [1958; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1972], pp. 30 [cf. T.8749a28], 53 [cf. T. 8.750b5], and 61 [cf. T. 8.751c17]), but not in the earlier Prajñāpāramitā literature (e.g., the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*).

1. Kumārajīva (T. 9.10b9), = Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta (T. 9.143a29): "the evil age of the five defilements" 五濁惡世 (cf. Hurvitz, p. 46)

   Dharmarakṣa (T. 9.9.73a12-13): no equivalent

   → Kern, p. 58: "at the period of the five depravities"

   Kern & Nanjio, eds., p. 58, l. 11: *pañcakaṣāyakāle*

2. K. (9.31a22), J. & Dh. (9.165c7): "in this evil age" 於此惡世 (cf. H., p. 176)

   Dh.: no equivalent

   → Kern, p. 217: "in the last times"

   K & N, p. 228, l. 13: *paścime kāli* [*sic*, for *kāle*]

3. K. (9.31a25), J. & Dh. (9.165c10): "[in] the evil age after my extinction" 吾滅後惡世 (cf. H., p. 176)

   Dh.: no equivalent

   → Kern, p. 218: "in these most dreadful, last days (keeps this sūtra of the Extinct [Buddha])"

   K & N, p. 229, l. 2: *paścime kāli* [*sic*] *subhairave ('smin parinirvṛtasya sūtram...)*

4. K. (9.31a29), J. & Dh. (9.165c14): "in the latter age" 於後世 (H., p. 177)

   Dh.: no equivalent

   → Kern, p. 218: "in the last days"

   K & N, p. 229, l. 6: *asmi kāle*

5. K. (9.34a22), J. & Dh. (9168c2): "after the Buddha's extinction, in the midst of the evil age" 佛滅後於惡世中 (cf. H., p. 191)

   Dh. (9.104b22): "after the Buddha's passage into extinction" 佛滅度之後

   → Kern, p. 240: "in the dreadful period succeeding the extinction of the Chief of the World"

   K & N, p. 253, l. 11: *nirvṛtasmin tu lokendre paścātkāle sudārune*

6. K. (9.34a27), J. & Dh. (9.168c7): "after the Buddha's passage into extinction, in the midst of the evil age" 佛滅度後於惡世中 (cf. H., p. 192)

   Dh. (9.104c15): "after the Buddha's passage into extinction, in the final age" 佛滅度之後末世

   → Kern, p. 241: "in the last days after my extinction"

K & N, p. 254, ll. 5-6: *nirvṛtasya tadā mama | paścātkāle*

7. K. (9.34b21), J. & Dh. (9.169a1): "in the terrifying age" 於恐畏世 (cf. H., p. 194)

Dh. (9.105a24): "in the future age" 於當來之世

→ Kern, p. 243: "in the last times"

K & N, p. 256, l. 6: *paścime kāli* [*sic*]

8. K. (9.36a2), J. & Dh. (9.170b9): "[in] the latter evil age" 後惡世 (H., p. 202)

Dh.: no equivalent

→ Kern, p. 255: "at that period"

K & N, p. 267, l. 4: *tasmin kāle*

9. K. (9.36b20-21), J. & Dh. (9.170c27-28): "after the Buddha's passage into extinction, during the frightful evil age" 於佛滅度後恐怖惡世中 (cf. H., pp. 204-205)

Dh. (9.106c26-27): "after the Buddha's passage into extinction ... and [in] the final age thereafter, when it is feared there will be disasters" 佛滅度後...然後末世恐有患難

→ Kern, p. 259: "in the horrible last period of the world"

K & N, p. 271, ll. 7-8: *tadā te parinirvṛtasya | mra* [sic; Vaidya ed. reads *svaṃ*] *paścime kāli* [*sic*; var. *kāle*] *subhairavasmin*

10. K. (9.36b24), J. & Dh. (9.171a2): "during the evil age" 惡世中 (cf. H., p. 205)

Dh.: no equivalent

→ Kern, p. 259: "at that dreadful last epoch"

K & N, p. 272, l. 2: *ghore kālasmi paścime*

11. K. (9.36c14), J. & Dh. (9.171a21): "during the corrupt kalpa, the evil age" 濁劫惡世中 (cf. H., p. 206)

Dh. (9.107a27): "[in] the final age to come thereafter" 然後來末世

→ Kern, p. 260: "in that dreadful, most terrible period of frightening general revolution"

K & N, p. 273, l. 7: *kalpasaṃkṣobhabhīṣmasmin dāruṇāsmi mahabhaye*

12. K. (9.36c20), J. & Dh. (9.171a27): "[in] the corrupt age" 濁世 (cf. H., p. 206)

Dh. (9.107b1): "after [the Buddha's] passage into extinction, [in] the final age" 滅度後末世

→ Kern, p. 261: "in the last period"

K & N, p. 273, l. 14: *paścime kāli* [*sic*]

13. K. (9.37a10, 11, 12), J. & Dh. (9.171b15, 16, 17): "in the latter evil age" 於後惡世 (H., p. 208; 3 occurrences)

Dh.: no equivalent

→ Kern, p. 262 (2 occurrences only): "at the end of time, at the last period"

K & N, p. 275, ll. 3, and 5: *paścime kāle paścime samaye*

14. K. (9.37b19), J. & Dh. (9.171c23): "in the latter evil age" 於後惡世 (H., p. 210)

Dh. (9.107c20): "in the latter age to come" 於後當來世

→ Kern, p. 265: "in the dreadful period hereafter"

K & N, p. 278, l. 8: *paścātkāle sudāruṇe*

15. K. (9.37c27), J. & Dh. (9.172b2): "in the latter age" 於後世 (H., p. 213)

Dh.: no equivalent

→ Kern: no equivalent

16. K. (9.37c29), J. & Dh. (9.172b4): "after the Tathāgata's extinction, during the final Dharma" 如來滅後於末法中 (cf. H., p. 213)

Dh. (9.108b16): "after the Tathāgata's passage into extinction" 如來滅度之後

→ Kern, p. 268: "after the complete extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time, the last period, the last five hundred years [*sic*; Skt. text reads "fifty"], when the true law is in a state of decay"

K & N, p. 282, ll. 9-10: *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ saddharmavipralope vartamāna*

17. K. (9.38b2-3), J. & Dh. (9.172c6-7): "in the latter final age, when the Dharma is about to perish" 於後末世法欲滅時 (cf. H., p. 216)

Dh. (9.109a4): "after the Tathāgata's passage into extinction" 如來滅度後

→ Kern, p. 271: "after the extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time when the true law is in decay"

K & N, p. 285, ll. 5-6: *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya saddharmakṣayāntakāle vartamāna*

18. K. (9.38b15-16), J. & Dh. (9.172c18): "in the latter final age, when the Dharma is about to perish" 於後末世法欲滅時 (cf. H., p. 216)

Dh.: no equivalent

→ Kern, p. 272: "after the extinction of the Tathāgata at the end of time when the true law is in decay"

K & N, p. 286, ll. 5-6: *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya saddharmaparikṣayāntakāle vartamāna*

19. K. (9.38c4-5), J. & Dh. (9.173a7-8): "in the latter final age, when the Dharma is about to perish" 於後末世法欲滅時 (cf. H., p. 217)

Dh. (9.109b9): "after the Tathāgata's passage into extinction" 如來滅度後

→ Kern, p. 273: "at the time of the destruction of the true law after the extinction of the Tathāgata"

K & N, p. 287, ll. 11-12: *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya saddharmaprati-kṣayāntakāle vartamāna*

20. K. (9.39a23), J. & Dh. (9.173b24): "at the time of the latter final age" 後末世時 (cf. H., p. 220)

Dh. (9.109c22): "at the time of the very last age" 最後世時

→ Kern, p. 276: "at the end of time"

K & N, p. 291, l. 11: *kāli* [*sic*] *paścime*

21. K. (9.39c16), J. & Dh. (9.174a17): "during the latter evil age" 後惡世中 (H., p. 224)

Dh. (9.110b14): "[in] the very last final age" 最後末世

→ Kern, p. 280: "at the end of time"

K & N, p. 296, l. 2: *paścime kāli* [*sic*]

22. K. (9.46a13), J. & Dh. (9.180a28): "[in] the evil age, at the time of the end [of the] Dharma" 惡世法末時 (cf. H., p. 255)

Dh. (9.117b15): "in [the period of] disorder" 於亂

→ Kern, p. 325: "at the period of depravation"

K & N, p. 341, l. 7: *kṣayakāli* [*sic*; vars. *-kāla*, *-kāle*]

23. K. (9.51b13), J. & Dh. (9.185b21): "after [that] Buddha's extinction, when the Dharma was about to be exhausted"* 佛滅後法欲盡時

(cf. H., p. 283)

Dh. (9.123c2-3): "after that Buddha's passage into most excellent extinction, and at the time when his True Dharma was in its very final age" 其佛最勝滅度之後然其正法最末世時

→ Kern, pp. 360-361: "at the time succeeding the extinction of the Jina, when the decay of the true law was far advanced"

K & N, p. 383, l. 10: *tasya jinasya parinirvṛtasya saddharma saṃkṣobha vrajanti paścime*

24. K. (9.54b29), J. & Dh. (9.189b4): "after the Tathāgata's extinction, during the latter five hundred years" 如來滅後後五百歲中 (cf. H., p. 300)

Dh. (9.126c7): "in the age of the five corruptions, in the very last final decline" 於五濁世最後末俗

→ Kern, p. 389: "in the last five hundred years of the millennium" [*sic*]

K & N, p. 419, l. 2: *paścimāyāṃ pañcāśatyāṃ*

25. K. (9.54c21-22), J. & Dh. (9.189b24-25): "after my passage into extinction, during the latter five hundred years" 我滅度後後五百歲中 (cf. H., p. 301)

Dh. (9.127a1): "[in] the very last final decline, [in] the age of the five corruptions" 最後末俗五濁之世

→ Kern, p. 391: "at the end of time, the last period, in the latter half of the millennium" [*sic*]

K & N, p. 420, ll. 13-14: *paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcāśatyāṃ vartamānāyāṃ*

26. K. (9.61a23), J. & Dh. (9.194c13-14): "in the latter five hundred years, during the corrupt and evil age" 於後五百歲濁惡世中 (cf. H., p. 333)

Dh. (9.133a8): "[in] the very last final decline, [in] the age of the five corruptions" 最後末俗五濁之世

→ Kern, p. 433: "at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium" [*sic*]

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* Note that this is a reference to a former Tathāgata, not Śākyamuni, but the format is the same.

K & N, p. 474, ll. 3-4: *paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ vartamānāyāṃ*

27. K. (9.61b9-10), J. & Dh. (9.194c28-29): "during the latter age, the latter five hundred years, the corrupt and evil age" 後世後五百歲濁惡世中 (cf. H., p. 333)

Dh. (9.133a22-23): "during the very last remaining [period], the final decline, the age of the five corruptions, the remaining fifty years" 於最後餘殘末俗五濁之世餘五十歲中
cf. lines 24-25: "[during] the very last final decline, [in] the remaining fifty years" 最後末俗餘五十歲

→ Kern, p. 434: "at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium" [*sic*]

K & N, p. 475, l. 10: *paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ*

28. K. (9.62a9), J. & Dh. (9.195b20): "after the Tathāgata's extinction, [in] the latter five hundred years" 如來滅後後五百歲 (cf. H., p. 336)

Dh. (9.133c27): "[in] the age of the very last final decline,* the remaining fifty years, the decline of [i.e., represented by] the five corruptions" 最後末俗世餘五十歲

→ Kern, p. 438: "at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium" [*sic*]

K & N, p. 481, l. 6: *paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ vartamānāyāṃ*

29. K. (9.62a13-14), J. & Dh. (9.195b24): "in the latter age" 於後世 (H., p. 336)

Dh. (9.134a2): "[in] the age of the very last final decline" 最後末俗世

→ Kern, p. 439: "at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium" [*sic*]

K & N, pp. 481, l. 10 - 482, l. 1: *paścime kāle paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcaśatyāṃ vartamānāyāṃ*

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* The word "decline" (俗) is missing from some editions of the text.

APPENDIX 3. THE DURATION OF THE DHARMA: TEXTUAL SOURCES *

1a. **500 years:**

- Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* (T. No. 1428, 22.923c9)
- Theravāda *Vinaya* (*Cullavagga* X, 1)
- Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* (T. No. 1421, 22.186a14)
- Haimavata *Vinaya Mātṛkā* (T. No. 1463, 24.818c4)
- Theravāda *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (IV, p. 278)
- Sarvāstivāda *Madhyamāgama* (T. No. 26, 1.607b9)
- Theravāda *Milindapañha* (IV, i, 55-61)
- *Gautamī-sūtra* (T. No. 60, 1.857c29)
- *Chung pen ch'i ching* (T. No. 196, 4.159b8)
- *Ta chih-tu lun* (T. No. 1509, 25.68a16)

Note: In all but the last of these texts, the decline of the Dharma is blamed on the entrance of women into the Buddhist monastic community.

1b. **"500 after-years"**:

- *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (Kern trans., pp. 268, 433-434, 438-439; cf. T. No. 262, 9.37c29, 9.61a23 and b9-10, 62a9ff., 54b29 and c 21).
- *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* (Edward Conze, ed., pp. 30, 53, 61; cf. T. No. 235, 8.749a26-b2)

2. **700 years:**

- *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T. No. 374, 12.402c26; No. 375, 12.643b25-26; No. 376, 12.880a.23)
- *A-nan ch'i-meng ching* (T. No. 494, 14.785a-b)

3. **1000 years:**

- Sarvāstivāda *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. No. 1545, 27.918a)
- Sarvāstivāda *Abhidharmakośa* (VIII, p. 220)
- Sarvāstivāda *Aśokāvadāna* (T. No. 2042, 50.126b26; cf. *Saṃyuktāgama* below)
- Sarvāstivāda *Saṃyuktāgama* (T. No. 99, 2.177b23)
- Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (T. No. 1451, 24.405a7)

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* Working compilation only; not to be construed as a complete list.

- *Prediction of Kātyāyana* (T. No. 2029, 49.12b26-c1)
- *Ta chih-tu lun* (T. No. 1509, 25.681b6)
- *Madhyamakaśāstra* (T. No. 1564, 30.1b29)
- *Account of the Compilation of the Tripiṭaka* (T. No. 2026, 49.2a16)
- *Kāśyapa-saṃgīti-sūtra* (T. No. 2027, 49.6a7)
- *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T. No. 425, 14.21a25)
- *Karmavaraṇapratiśrabdhi* (T. No. 1493, 24.1094a17)
- shorter *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T. No. 390, 12.1112-1113)

4. **1500 years**:
   a. 500 + 1000 :
      - Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.379c5-9)
      - *Mahāmāyā-sūtra* (T. No. 383, 12.1013b-c)

   b. 1000 + 500 :
      - *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (T. No. 157, 3.211b26-29; T. No. 158, 3.270a3-4)

   c. subdivisions unspecified:
      - Khotanese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (in Emmerick, *Book of Zambasta*, pp. 410-411, line 462)

5. **2000 years**:
   - Tibetan *Candragarbha-sūtra* (Pek. No. 1025, vol. 93 [*mdo-sna-tshogs* ཉེ་], 225b2-226a8)
   - Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.370b8-11)[1]
   - Tibetan *Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana* (Peking No. 5698)
   - Tibetan *Prophecy of* [*the Arhat of*] *Khotan* (Peking No. 5699)
   - Huai-kan (T. No. 1960, 47.48c7) citing the *Ta-pei ching*, but no such reference is given in the present version of that text. (Was he actually quoting the *Pei-hua ching*? see Chappell, "Early Forebodings," p. 151, n. 58)
   - Chi-tsang (T. No. 1824, 42.18b3-4) citing the *Ch'i-yüan-ching-she*, but again no such statement is found in the existing version of that text (Chappell, "Early Forebodings," p. 151, n. 59). Chi-tsang attributes the same timetable to his teacher Paramārtha (42.18a18), but specifies that this is a "theoretical figure," and that the actual total has been reduced to 1,500 years due to the entry of women into the saṃgha.

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[1] No total figure is cited, but four five-hundred-year periods are enumerated.

6. **2500 years :**
   - Chinese *Candragarbha-sūtra* (T. No. 397, 13.363a29-b5)[2]

7. **3000 years :**
   - Chi-tsang (T. No. 1824, 42.18a23-26), citing the *Mahāsaṃnipāta-sūtra* (T. No. 397) , though no such figure appears in the extant version of the text.

8. **4,500 years :**
   - the standard Tibetan view according to Geshe Nornang (U. of Washington, Seattle) and the Ven. Tulku Thondup (Cambridge, MA). [no textual reference cited]

9. **5,000 years :**
   - Buddhaghosa, *Manorathapūraṇī* (I, p. 87)
   - Tibetan *Maitrī-sūtra* (Peking Nos. 751 and 1010)
   - the standard Tibetan view according to the Dalai Lama (personal communication, 1979). [no textual reference cited]

10. **5,104 years :**
    - The system presented in the *Kālacakra-tantra* (cited in Tenzin Gyatso, *The Kālacakra Tantra*, p. 65)

11. **10,000 years :**
    - *Shan chien lü p'i-po-sha* (T. No. 1462, 24.796c)

12. **11,500 years (500 + 1,000 + 10,000):**[3]
    - Hui-ssu (T. No. 1933, 46.786c4-6)

13. **12,000 (1,000 + 1,000 + 10,000):**[3]
    - Chi-tsang (T. No. 1824, 42.18b2-5)
    - Huai-kan (T. No. 1960, 47.48c7-8)
    - Liang-p'i (T. No. 1709, 33.520c10)

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[2] No total figure is given, but five five-hundred-year periods are enumerated.

[3] Note that *only* the texts in categories 12 and 13 – all authored by Chinese commentators – contain any reference to a period of *mo-fa*.

APPENDIX 4
The Mongolian *A li Kali* Alphabet

The origins of the Mongolian writing system are lost in obscurity. Traditional accounts claim that the Mongolian language was first set down in writing in the early 13th century, after Chinggis Khan had defeated the Turkish-speaking Naiman tribe[1] in 1204 and captured their chancellor, an Uighur named *T'a-t'a T'ung-a.*[2] When the illiterate Mongolian conqueror inquired concerning the official seal found in the Uighur chancellor's possession, he was told of the many uses of writing in conducting the business of state. Chinggis is said to have been impressed by this information, and he promptly hired T'a-t'a T'ung-a as a tutor for his four sons. The offspring of Chinggis, then – according to this account – would have been the first literate Mongolian speakers.[3]

It is probable that this story (accepted by Clauson, among others, as essentially factual[4]) contains a certain grain of historical truth. But even if it does describe the first appropriation of the Uighur script by the Mongol tribe of which Chinggis was the leader (as opposed to the entire population of Mongolian speakers, which included a large number of other tribal groups),

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[1] There is considerable controversy about the ethnic identity of the Naimans, though the consensus is clearly that they were either Turkicized Mongols or Mongolized Turks. For a thorough review of the literature see L. L. Viktorova, "K voprosu o naĭmanskoĭ teorii proiskhozhdeniya mongol'skogo literaturnogo yazyka i pis'mennosti (XII-XIII vv.)," *Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, Seriya Vostokovedcheskikh nauk, Vyp. 12, No. 305 (1961), pp. 137-155. Viktorova concludes that the Naiman were Turkish-speaking descendants of the Oguz tribe.

[2] For the reconstruction of this name (which has been preserved only in Chinese transcription) as *Tatar Toŋa:* see Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies* (London: Luzac & Co., 1962), p. 179.

[3] On this story and related issues see A. Róna-Tas, "Some Notes on the Terminology of Mongolian Writing," *AOH*, 18 (1965), pp. 119-147.

[4] *Turkish and Mongolian Studies*, p. 179.

it is highly unlikely that the first recording of a Mongolian dialect in the Uighur script took place through the agency of an Uighur employee of the Naimans. For the orthographic conventions governing the use of the Mongolian script can be explained neither by the pronunciation of the Mongolian language itself nor by the usage current among the Uighur Turks. In fact, these conventions bear a striking resemblance not to the writing system of any Altaic language, but to the usage of the Arabic script by the Persians.[5]

The orthographic conventions used for writing the Mongolian language in the Uighur script differ from those used for writing the Uighur language in one striking respect: with the exception of final *-ei* or *-ai* (which can equally well be transcribed – and probably should be – as *-ey* or *-ay*), the Mongolian writing system forbids the occurrence of any two vowels in sequence without an intervening consonant. The rule for the selection of this consonant appears to be the following: if either of the vowels is an *i*, the separating consonant (which is not itself pronounced) will be *y*. For any other combination of vowels (whether containing rounded or unrounded elements) the separating consonant will be *γ* (for back-vowel words) or *g* (for their front-vowel counterparts). Thus the diphthongs *au* and *eü* must be written *aγu* and *egü*, respectively, the long vowels *aa* and *ee* as *aγa* and *ege*, and such combinations as *ai* and *ei* as *ayi* and *eyi*. Exceptions to this rule are few and far between, and are most commonly in loan words from Uighur Turkish, where they would already have had an established spelling in the Uighur script.[6] The

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5 The following discussion was inspired by a remark made by Joseph Fletcher in November 1983, when he described to me an insight he had recently had concerning the usage of the Mongolian script: "When you think of it as Arabic," he said, "it all makes sense."

6 The best known example is the word *naiman*, "eight," which of course is also the name of the Naiman (presumably Turkish) tribe.

rule is violated with regularity only in the transcriptions of foreign words, particularly those of Chinese and Indian origin.

Many scholars have argued that the use of intervocalic consonants simply represent the actual pronunciation of pre-classical Mongolian – that is, that pre-classical Mongolian did not contain genuine diphthongs.[7] Yet the evidence offered by texts preserved in the 'Phags-pa script[8] and in Chinese transcription (most notably the *Secret History of the Mongols*[9]) suggests otherwise. In these materials (which are essentially contemporaneous with the earliest Mongolian texts in the Uighur script) we do indeed find what appear to be genuine diphthongs, and – most importantly – we find no letters that would correspond to the *pronounciation* of the intervocalic γ/g and y.[10]

If the Mongolian deviations from the Uighur orthographic rules are not simply a result of an attempt to represent Mongolian pronunciation, but represent rather the conscious adoption of an existing set of orthographic rules, we need look no farther than the Persian language, written in the Arabic script, for a source of these rules. It would follow, then, that the adaptation of the Uighur script for the transcription of a Mongolian dialect was first made in an environment in which the Persian language was already in use. A great deal of research still remains to be done on where and when this might have taken place; a likely candidate, however, would certainly be

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7 The perplexing nature of the data is illustrated by the statement made by Grønbech and Krueger that when the Mongolian language was first set down in the Uighur script in the early 13th century "it already reflected a somewhat earlier pronunciation" (*Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian*, p. 13).

8 See the texts transcribed in Poppe, *Mongolian Monuments in the hP'ags-pa Script*, and more recently in L. Ligeti, *Monuments en écriture 'Phags-pa* (*MLMC*, III).

9 For a transcription see de Rachewiltz, *Index to the Secret History of the Mongols* and more recently L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des mongols* (*MLMC*, I).

10 On this issue see Ligeti, "Les fragments du *Subhaṣitaratnanidhi* en écriture 'Phags-pa. Mongol préclassique et moyen mongol" *AOH*, 17 (1964), pp. 239-292. Ligeti concludes that so-called "pre-classical Mongolian" is nothing other than Middle Mongolian written in the Uighur script.

the Qara Qitai, the Mongolian-speaking former rulers of northern China, who after the collapse of their Liao dynasty in 1125 fled to the west and established an independent kingdom, including parts of what is now Soviet and Chinese Turkestan. The population of these territories included a large number of Persian speakers, and the Qara Qitay are known to have had both Persians and Uighurs in their employ.[11]

If the identity of the person or persons responsible for the original adaptation of the Uighur script to the Mongolian langauge will probably forever remain unknown, when we come to the orthographic reforms that resulted in the extended Mongolian alphabet – popularly known as the *galig* script – we are much better informed. Here the sources attribute the creation of a number of new Mongolian letters to an individual known as *Ayusi guusi*, and there is every reason to give credence to this account.[12]

The rationale behind the invention of these new letters is quite clear. While the Mongolian alphabet (like its Uighur ancestor) was quite adequate for rendering an approximation of the pronunciation of Indian loan words, there are many sounds in the Sanskrit and Tibetan languages which have no equivalent in Mongolian (and thus no standard rendering in the Mongolian script). As the Mongols came under increasing religious influence from the Tibetans during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the rendering of

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[11] On the Qara Qitay see Appendix V to Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125). Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 36 (1946). It is also important to bear in mind that the adoption of a given orthographic convention does not require that the language from which it was derived be dominant, or even highly influential, in the area where the adoption takes place. A classic example is the modern (romanized) Turkish alphabet, where the use of the graph ş for the sound "sh" and, by analogy, of ç for "ch" was suggested by a single member of the committee charged with the design of the alphabet, who happened to have studied in Rumania (Şinasi Tekin, personal communication, 1985).

[12] On Ayusi guusi and his involvement in the creation of the *ali kali* alphabet see Pentti Aalto, "Prolegomena to an Edition of the Pañcarakṣā," *Studia Orientalia*, XIX, 12 (Helsinki, 1954), pp. 40-41, and Ligeti's review of Aalto's *Pañcarakṣā* edition in *AOH*, 14 (1962), pp. 317-328.

Tibetan names and terms in Mongolian with a higher degree of accuracy became a matter of increasing concern. The most important issue, however,was in the Sanskrit rather than the Tibetan realm. The Tibetans of the Dge-lugs-pa school (under whose tutelage Altan Khan and his successors had placed themselves) were undergoing a wave of renewed interest in the Sanskrit language, and in one area in particular – the use of the magical charms known as *dhāraṇīs* – the proper pronunciation of the Sanskrit was deemed essential. However powerful a given *dhāraṇī* might be, if pronounced improperly it was believed to have little or no beneficial effect.

The motive for the supplementation of the Mongolian alphabet with a number of new letters, then, was to guarantee the correct pronunciation of Sanskrit *dhāraṇīs*. Because these additional characters (the so-called *galig* letters) were generally reserved for the transcription of Indian terminology, they appear only sporadically in Mongolian literature, and there only in literature that has been substantially influenced by Buddhist concerns. Thus it is not surprising that scholars should not yet have made a complete inventory of these letters, and that there are certain errors in all the published charts of this script.

My intention in preparing the chart given below has been to make available a list of all the *galig* letters as they actually appear in Mongolian Buddhist literature, to discuss important deviations from these standard forms that occur regularly in the texts I have examined, and to explain as well as possible the underlying system (which can only be understood with reference to the Sanskrit) governing the uses of this script. It is entirely possible that the chart given below is itself incomplete, since a total inventory of all possible forms of these *galig* letters would require a review of the entire body of classical Mongolian language, including the voluminous Kanjur and Tanjur – a project of truly monumental proportions. Thus the following

chart, like its predecessors, can have only a provisional claim to inclusiveness.[13]

One further issue has not yet been dealt with by western scholars: the name of the so-called *galig* script itself. That the word is not originally Mongolian can be seen in the unexpected combination of the consonant *g* with the back vowel *a*. But no foreign term that could have served as its antecedent is immediately evident. First we should note that the original name of the amplified script, as attested in existing Mongolian sources, was not *galig* but *ali k̲ali*, a direct transcription (without, however, any indication of vowel length) of Tibetan *āli kāli*. The latter, as Roy Andrew Miller has demonstrated,[14] is a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit derivative of original Sanskrit *ādi kādi*, "*a* and so on, *ka* and so on" – that is, the vowels and the consonants, or in other words, the writing system as a whole.

Since the expression *ali k̲ali* does appear in Mongolian sources, we know that the term was used, however briefly, in that language. But how do we get from this expression to the ubiquitous term *galig*? I would propose the following derivation. First the element *ali* was dropped from the expression *ali k̲ali*, since *ali* is in fact a Mongolian word (meaning "which") and thus would have caused repeated misunderstanding by a Mongol hearing this term. The remaining word, *k̲ali*, was then reformatted with the Turkish suffix *-lig*, "possessing, having" (common in Turkish loan words in Mongolian), and the initial *k-* given a voiced pronunciation to fit the requirements of Mongolian

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[13] Of the available charts of the Mongolian galig alphabet the most accurate are those given in Isaac Jacob Schmidt, *Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache* (St. Petersburg: Royal Academy of Sciences, 1831), p. 5, and Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, §85. The chart given below differs from both of these in certain respects, however, and adds other letters not included there.

[14] See his article "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *āli, kāli* as Grammatical Terms in Tibet" (*HJAS*, 226 [1966], pp. 125-147; reprinted with addenda and corrigenda in *Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet*, pp. 33-56).

phonology. The resulting term now made good sense to the Mongol listener: it could be etymologized as "[the alphabet] possessing the [foreign] letter *ga* [and so on]." And it was in this form that the extended Mongolian alphabet came to be known both to the Mongols themselves and to western scholars.

The Mongolian *Ali K̲ali* Alphabet

with suggested transcriptions

Skt:	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai	o	au
Mo:	a	a-a	i	ii	u	uu	i	ii	owa	owwa

Skt:	aṃ	aḥ
Mo:	aṃ	aḥ

Skt:	ka	kha	ga	gha	nga	ca	cha	ja	jha	ña
Mo:	k̲a	kha	ga	g̲h̲a	nga	c̲a	c̲h̲a	ja	j̲h̲a	ña

Skt:	ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na
Mo:	ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa	ta	tha	da	dha	na

Skt:	pa	pha	ba	bha	ma	ya	ra	la	va
Mo:	p̲a	p̲h̲a	ba	bha	ma	ya	ra	la	wa

Skt:	śa	ṣa	sa	ha
Mo:	śa	ṣa	sa	ha

Additional Tibetan letters not found in Sanskrit:

Tib:	tsa	tsha	dza	zha		za		'a
Mo:	c̲a	c̲h̲a	j̲a	z̲h̲a,	z̲h̲a	za,	za	'a

Mode d'emploi

Vowels. The orthographic conventions governing the use of vowels in the *galig* script are entirely different from those governing the writing of ordinary Mongolian. They are, in summary, the following:

(1) a long vowel is indicated in the Mongolian script simply by writing the letter twice, e.g. Skt. *ī* → Mo. *ii*, Skt. *ū* → Mo. *uu*. When the long vowel is *a*, however, the two letters are usually separated in the Mongolian script (that is, the first is written in its word-final form, while the second is written in a separate syllable).

(2) to distinguish *o* from *u*, Skt. *o* is regularly written in the artificial form *owa*, while *u* is written simply as *u*. (Here I would argue strongly that the combination *owa* should be transcribed exactly as it is written, and not as "ô" as is common in some circles.) The Sanskrit diphthong *au* is written as an extended form of *o* (a reasonable choice given Sanskrit phonetic theory), as *owwa*.

(3) Sanskrit *e* and *i* are both written as Mongolian *i*. This seemingly conscious conflation is a strange choice, since it leads to endless confusion in reading and makes the reconstruction of the original Sanskrit (for modern scholars) and the correct pronunciation of *dhāraṇīs* (for Mongolian Buddhists) rather problematic. In the oldest documents, however, the *galig* letter used to transcribe Skt. *e* appears to terminate in a slight downward-curving hook (); perhaps this feature – which seems to have disappeared almost immediately – originally served to distinguish the two letters.

(4) The treatment of Skt. *ai* peculiar, and is worthy of special attention. In Mongolian transcription this diphthong is represented by the letters *ii*, a very strange choice at first glance (and one subject to confusion with Skt. *ī*), but which makes good sense when we look at the underlying Tibetan form. The Tibetan convention is to represent Skt. *ai* by what is essentially a doubled

Tibetan *e* (ཨེ), a practice borrowed directly from the Sanskrit, where the same procedure is used to write medial (though not initial) *ai*. Thus the Mongols – since their representation of Tibetan *e* is Mo. *i* – were following this pattern exactly in transcribing Skt. *ai* as *ii*.

Consonants. The treatment of aspirated consonants in the *galig* script is a complex matter, and is worthy of special attention. The following rules seem to apply:

(1) aspirated surds (unvoiced consonants) that are written with discrete letters in Tibetan (i.e., without a subscribed *h*) are also written with discrete letters in Mongolian, for each of which a new *galig* letter was designed.

(2) aspirated sonants (voiced consonants) do not occur in Tibetan; thus when such Sanskrit letters are transcribed in the Tibetan script, they are written with a subscribed *h*. Likewise in the Mongolian *galig* script, aspirated sonants are written not with special characters (incorporating the aspiration), but with the consonant in question + the letter *h* (itself a newly designed *galig* letter). In these instances, however, the *h* is not written in its full form ( ) but in an abbreviated (we might say "subscript") form, as . Thus while Skt. *kha* corresponds to Tib. *kha* ཁ which appears in *galig* Mongolian as <u>*kha*</u> , Skt. *gha* → Tib. *gha* གྷ → Mo. *gha* .

(3) aspirated consonants that occur neither in Sanskrit nor in Tibetan, when written with the *galig* script, are written with the *full* form of the *galig* letter *h*. Thus the combination *rh* (found in the Mongolian translation of the *Candragarbha-sūtra*) is written not as , but as . Likewise the *h* itself, when it occurs initially or medially and represents a true Sanskrit or Tibetan *h* and not part of another letter, is written in its full form, with the *alif* preceding it.

Frequent confusions. The addition of a number of new letters to the Mongolian alphabet – many of which differed only slightly from others

already in use – has led to considerable confusion, not only in modern scholarly transcriptions but in scribal errors made by the Mongols themselves. The following are a sample of the most common confusions, an awareness of which will assist the transcriber in reconstructing a miscopied form.

(1) the *galig* letter *k̲h̲a* is often mistaken for *ba*.

(2) *ṣ* is essentially indistinguishable from *γ*, in both initial (:) and medial (:) positions.

(3) the Tibetan *'a-chung* is written in Mongolian script in a form virtually identical to the letter *g* (in initial position).

(4) *h* is frequently confused with *d*.

(5) the original letters *w*, *i/y*, and *galig* letters *i* (for *e*) and *ṇ* all look virtually identical, and are frequently confused.

Errors in usage. Two frequent but erroneous applications of the *galig* script are observed in Mongolian literature:

(1) the use of the retroflex ḍ to indicate an ordinary dental *d*. This is unnecessary and technically inaccurate; I can only surmise that this letter came to be thought of simply as an "Indian" *d*, and was used for merely ornamental purposes.

(2) use of *c̱* in place of *j̱*. The use of the *galig* letter *c̱* to transcribe Sanskrit *j̱* is extremely common, though again technically erroneous. The letter *j̱* is in fact rarely used.

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